F
461
.M577x
vol.3
no.4
1911

THE LIBRARY
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
PROVO, UTAH

977.8005
M59C
v.3
#4

VOLUME III 1911 NUMBER 4

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

CONTENTS.

JOURNAL OF THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS, ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATION . . . *Col. Auguste Chouteau.*

MANUEL LISA, II. . . . . *Walter B. Douglas.*

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF ST. LOUIS FROM THE MEMOIRS OF AN OLD CITIZEN: MAJOR WILLIAM CLARK KENNERLY. EDITED BY . . . . . *Mrs. D. R. Russell.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR, V. . *Charles A. Krone.*

EXTRACT FROM JOURNAL OF CAPT. HARRY GORDON, *From Hanna's The Wilderness Trail.*

IN MEMORIAM: EDMUND P. WALSH.
LEON J. PAPIN.

NOTES: Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri; Smith's The Annexation of Texas; The Wislizenus Journal; Newspaper Acquisitions; The Society's Temporary Office.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY. 1600 LOCUST STREET, ST. LOUIS.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Established 1866.

WILLIAM K. BIXBY,
President.

WALTER B. DOUGLAS, V. MOTT PORTER,
Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES P. PETTUS,
Secretary.

BRECKINRIDGE JONES,
Treasurer.

DAVID I. BUSHNELL,
JAMES CAMPBELL,
MURRAY CARLETON,
LEWIS D. DOZIER,
DAVID R. FRANCIS,
NATHAN FRANK,
LOUIS HOUCK,
CHARLES W. KNAPP,
ROBERT P. MCCULLOCH,
EDWARD V. PAPIN,
JOHN SCULLIN,
ALFRED L. SHAPLEIGH,
WALTER B. STEVENS,
ROLLA WELLS,
WILLIAM K. BIXBY,
WALTER B. DOUGLAS,
V. MOTT PORTER,
CHARLES P. PETTUS,
BRECKINRIDGE JONES,
Advisory Committee.

MISS IDRESS HEAD, *Librarian.*

All persons interested are solicited to become members. The annual dues are five dollars.

Correspondence should be addressed to

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
1600 Locust Street, St. Louis.

THE LIBRARY
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
PROVO, UTAH

The Nixon-Jones Printing Company

215 PINE STREET SAINT LOUIS, MO.

Invite your inquiry for estimates on any kind of Book Printing, our specialty. Also Scientific and Legal work, Catalog, Commercial and Society Printing. We are equipped to produce your advertising work in a prompt, efficient manner

We Will Be Pleased to Serve You

Kinloch, Central 825—PHONE—Bell, Main 297

You Were Told About

Taylor's Book Shop

At 3518 Franklin Avenue

Saint Louis

In the last issue of these Collections. If you have not made the place a visit, it must be either because you could not go, or because you have had no intellectual hunger. If you can't go, then write for any book or magazine, old or new, that you want.

YOU have guarded your will against every danger when you name this Company its executor. You have secured the services of a state-supervised corporation which never takes a vacation, never falls sick, never absconds and never dies; whose faithful performance is compelled by law, assured by its record and guaranteed by Capital, Surplus and Profits of $8,500,000.

OUR COMMITTEE ON TRUST ESTATES:

Julius S. Walsh
Breckinridge Jones
William Bagnell
Horatio N. Davis
Robert J. O'Reilly, M. D.
Henry W. Peters
Rolla Wells

Mississippi Valley Trust Company

FOURTH AND PINE :: :: :: :: ST. LOUIS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Brigham Young University

https://archive.org/details/missourihistoric34miss

Jacob de Sieyes

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

VOL. IV. ST. LOUIS, 1911. No. 4

THE SOCIETY DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS.

CHOUTEAU'S JOURNAL OF THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS.[1]

JOURNAL.

dans l'année 1762—Mr. Dabbadie alors Directeur général et Commandant de la Louisianne accordat a une Compagnie la traitte exclusive avec les Sauvages

[1] Chouteau's Journal is the only source of information as to the details of the founding of St. Louis. The original manuscript was given by Gabriel S. Chouteau, the youngest son of the author, to the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association in 1857. The original has never been published. The translation here printed was made by Messrs. J. Givin Brown and J. Wilmer Stith, and published as an appendix to the Twelfth Annual Report of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association in 1858. It is here printed without change. Acknowledgments are due to the Library Association for kind permission to print the original and to reprint the translation.

Auguste Chouteau was born at New Orleans 17 September 1750. When he left New Orleans, with Laclede to come up the river, he was in his thirteenth year, and when he led the party to begin the building of St. Louis he was about thirteen and a half years old.

He seems to have been Laclede's lieutenant and chief assistant, and when Laclede died in 1778, he administered upon his estate. He married 21 September, 1786, Marie Thérèse, daughter of Gabriel Cerré. He gradually won for himself the position of the chief man of business, and acquired the greatest wealth of any citizen of the upper Louisiana country. He found great favor with the Americans upon the transfer of the country. He was appointed presiding justice of the first territorial court, and, along with Governor Clark and Governor Edwards of Illinois, commissioner to treat in behalf of the United States with the Indian nations. In 1808 he became Colonel of the Missouri militia, and in 1809 he was chairman of

du Missouri—et toutes les nations residantent a l'ouest du Mississippi pendant l'espasse de 8 annees—cette Compagnie se forma sous la raison de P^re^ Laclede Liguete, Antoine Maxan, et Compagnie aussitot les terms et conditions signées avec le gouvernement elle prit des mesures pour faire venir d'Europe toute les marchandises necessaire pour alimenter grandement son commerce qu'elle se proposée d'etendre autant que possible—en attendant les marchandises qu'elle avait demandées en Europe arriva Elle fit un armement Considerable a la tétee du quel elle mis Mr. Pr. Laclede Ligueste—Connu pour un homme d'un haut merite Capable par ses Connaissance de conduire avec Sagesse et prudance les interets de la Compagnie. Il parti donc de la n^lle^ orleans le 3 aout 1763—et arriva aux illinois le 3 Nov^bre^ suivant

observez que tous les etablissment des francais été sur la rive gauche du Mississipi qui avaient cedé aux anglais par le traitté de 1762 et que sur la rive Droit qui restait a la france il n'y avait que le faible village de Ste genevieve dans le quel Mr de Laclede ne put pas trouver une maison Capable de Contenir un quart de ses marchandises—Mr de neyon Command du fort de chartres instruit de l'embaras de Mr Laclede lui envoya un officier lui dire qu'il lui offrait le logement de ses marchandise dans son fort jusqu'a ce que les ang-

the first board of trustees of the town of St. Louis. He carried on an extensive mercantile business, was president of the Bank of Missouri, was actively interested in lead mining and was a large land owner. It is not known when the fragment here reprinted was written. It is a family tradition that he wrote the complete story of the founding and early history of St. Louis, and that the manuscript was loaned to Jean Nicolas Nicollet and was destroyed while in his possession. In the catalogue of Colonel Chouteau's library, which was a fine one for the time, there is listed "one bundle of manuscripts relating to the early history of Louisiana." It was these, probably, which were destroyed.

Colonel Chouteau died at St. Louis 24 February, 1829, leaving his widow, four sons and three daughters surviving.

lais en viennent prendre possession, la necessite lui fit accepter l'offre genereux de Mr deNeyon—il partit de St. genevieve et se rendit le 3 N^br^ 1763 au fort de chartres ou il debarqua toutes ses marchandises et fit de suite tous les equipments pour les differantes nations—apres toutes les affaires de traitte faites il s'occupa des moyens de former un etablissemt convenable a son Commerce. St genevieve ne lui Convenant pas accause de son Eloignement du missouri—et sa situation peu Salubre. Ces raisons le deciderent a chercher un syte plus aventageux. En consequence il parti du fort de chartres dans le Decembre mena avec lui un jeune homme de sa Confiance et examena tous les terrain du fort de chartres aux missouri il fut enchanté de voir la situation (ou est St. Louis presentiment) il n'esita pas un momant, d'y faire l'etablissment qu'il projettait ou ce que outre la bauté du cyte—il y trouvait tous les avantages que l'ont peut desirer pour fondé un etablissement: qui peut devenir trés considérable par la suite—aprés avoir tout bien examiner—il fixa l'endroit ou il voullait faire son etablissement placa de sa propre main quelques arbres—et dit chouteau tu viendera a ici aussito que la navigation sera libre tu feras défrichére—cette place pour faire notre etablissement—d'aprés le plan que je te donnerai—nous partimes de suite pour nous rendres au fort de chartres. ou il disait avec un espece d'hentousiasm a Mr Deneyon et a ses officiers qu'il avait trouvé une situation ou il allait former un etablissement qui pourrait par la suite devenir une des plus belles villes de l'Amerique tant le cyte reunissait d'aventages par le

Lac pimitovai
Riviere Teakiki
Le Rocher
Riviere gasconade
Riviere St. joseph
Riviere de plaines
Chiquagou
Lac Sakacgan
Riviere Sinquement
Riviere des Renards[2]

[2] These names are written in the original as here printed.

localité et son point centrale pour faire des etablissemts il s'occupa le restant du hiver a se procurer tous les objets necessaire pour cet etablissemt, tant en hommes, vivres, outils, &c—et la navigation etant libre dans les premier jour de fevrier il arma un Bateau dans le qu'il mit 30 hommes presque tous ouvriers et il en donna la conduite á chouteau et lui dit "tu iras debarquer dans l'endroit ou nous avons plaqué des arbres—et tu commencra a faire defrechée, et batir un grand angard pour loger les vivres et les outils et des petites cabannes pour loger les hommes je le donne 2 hommes de confiance qui pourront d'idé beaucoup —je te rejoinderai sous peu. Je me rendis a la place désinée le 15 fevrier[3] dans la matiné de L'Endemain je mis les hommes au travail—ils commencerent le angared qui fut batit en peu de tems—et les petites cabanes environs. dans les premiers jours d'avril de Laclede arriva parmis nous—il s'occupa de son etablissement fixa la place ou il voulait batir sa maison—fit un plan du village qu'il nomma St. Louis en l'honneur de Louis 15—dont il croyait reste longtems sujet il ne s'imagine pas alors qu'il etait sujet du roi

[3] The date of the founding of St. Louis has been the subject of much discussion. As will be seen in the facsimile here given, Col. Chouteau wrote *fevrier*—February. By his, or some other hand, the word *mars* was written over the word *fevrier*. In his deposition before Recorder Hunt, Colonel Chouteau testified that, "On the tenth of February, A. D. 1764, Mr. Laclede sent Auguste Chouteau, this deponent, at the head of a party of mechanics of all trades, amounting to upwards of thirty in number to select a place suitable for an establishment such as he proposed. On the 15th of February, A. D. 1764, they landed at a place which they thought convenient for the purposes of the company and immediately proceeded to cut down trees, draw the lines of a town, and build the house where this deponent at present resides. Mr. Laclede on his arrival named the town Saint Louis, in honor of the King of France." 1 Hunt's Minutes, p. 107. Some persons have mistaken Colonel Chouteau's figure 5 for the figure 4 (see facsimile). But a comparison with other documents shows beyond question that the date here is fifteen. See further as to these questions, 1 Scharf's *History of St. Louis*, p. 66.

outils &c— et la navigation etant Libre dans le premier jours de fevrier il arrive un bateau dans le quel il met 30 hommes pranque tous ouvrier et il en donna Les Conduits au chevaleau et lui dit „ tu iras d'Embarquer dans l'Endroit que nous avons — plaqué des arbres— et tu Commenceras à faire Ø defrecher et batire un grand pour Loger les ouvrier et les outils + je Lui donne 2 hommes de Confience qui pourront d'ider beaucoup. angard— et des petites Cabannes pour Logery les hommes— je te rejoindrai sous peu jours je me rendis a la place d'etinée le 14 Mars dans la matinée le L'Endemain je mis les hommes au travail— ils Commencerent le angarad qui fut bati en peu de tems— et les petites Cabanes pour loger les hommes pour Logery environ dans les premiers jours de Mars. Le Lieut. Le Gardeur arriva par mis nous— il S'occupa— de Son Etablissement) vis La place ou il voulait

PART OF PAGE OF CHOUTEAU'S JOURNAL.

d'Espn; qu'il voullait etablir et m'ordonna de la suivre exatement—parce que lui ne pourrait pas rester plus longtems parmis nous—il etait obligé de se rendre au fort de chartres—pour retirer les marchandises qu'il avait dans ce fort quand l'arriva des Anglais que l'on attendait tous les jours pour en prendre possession. Je suivis donc de mon mieux son plan et mis tous mes soins a accelerer la Batisse de la maison—

pendant que nous etions tous bien occupés a ces travaux il arriva parmis nous— dans le mois de——toutes la nation des missouri, hommes femmes et enfans— et quoique ils ne paraitent pas avoir des mauvaises intentions a notre egard ils ne lessait pas de nous etre fort a charge—par leur demandes continuel de vivres —et les voles qu'ils faisaient de nos outils—en nous disant Continuellement qu'ils voulait faire un village au toure de la maison que nous voulions batir et qu'elle serait le Center—tous ces discours m'inquietés beaucoup—ce qui me fit prendre la resolution d'envoyer chercher Mr de Laclede—et ce qui m'y engagea encore a la faire il etait venu des Caos de habitant pour s'etablir dans ce nouveau village—qui s'en retournerent par crainte des missouris qui etaient environs 150-hommes guerriers, et nous nous n'etions que 30 a 35 hommes—mais je dirais toujours que cette nation ne paraissait pas avoir aucune idée ostile—Mr de Laclede arriva—et sitot son arriva les chefs des missouris vinrent le voir pour tenir un conseille resulta de le conseil estait qu'ils etaient digne de pitie qu'ils resemblai aux Canards et aux Outards qui cherchaient une Eau clair pour se reposer et se procurer avec facilité le vie—qu'ils ne trouvaient pas l'endroit plus propice a leur vie que l'endroit ou ils etaient—a cela ils diront bien des choses qui revenait toujours qu'ils desiraient de s'etablir ou ils etaient—Le Conseil fini Mr de Laclede les remis au lendemain pour leur faire sa reponse—le conseil s'assambla et apres des dis-

cours vague et preliminarie—Mr de Laclede leur dit avec la fermeté ordinaire—vous m'avez dit hier que vous resemblier aux Canards et aux outardes qui voyagaient jusqu'a ce qu'ils trouvaient un beau pays—dans le quel il y trouverait une belle Eau Clair pour s'y reposer—et se procurer une vie aisée—et que vous les missouris qui etaient digne des pitie vous leur ressemblez parce que vous voyagaient le meme qu'ils pour trouver un endroit pour vous y fixer et que vous n'en trouviez pas un plus propice une celui ou vous etiez actuellement—que vous vouliez faire un village au toure de ma maison ou nous viverions dans la plus grande amitée—je vous repondrai en peu de et je vous dirai que si vous suivaient la direction des Canards et des outardes pour vous fixer vous suivaient de mauvais guides—qui n'ont pas de prevoyance parce que s'ils en avaient ils ne se mettraient pas dans une Eau Claire—parce que les aigles et tous les oizeaux carnaciers les decouveraient facilement ce que n'arriverai pas s'ils etaient dans un endroit fourré—et couvert de Brossailles—Vous missouri, vous ne seriez pas manger par les aigles--mais des hommes—qui vous font la guerre depuis longtems—qui sont en grand nombre contre vous etes petit—ils turont vos guerriers parce qu'ils vouderont se defendre, renderont vos femmes et vos enfans Esclaves, voila ce qui vous arrivera pour vouloir suivre comme vous dite la marche —des Canards et des outardes—plutot—que les conseils des hommes qui savent bien déliberer—vous autres femmes—qui este ici presente et qui m'écoutées—aller —carresez bien aux enfans—donnez leur bien a manger ainsi qu'a vos vieux parens—serez les tous bien dans vos bras—donnez leur toutes les marques de la plus tendre amitée jusqu'au momant fatale qui vous separera d'eux et ce moment n'est pas bien eloigné si vos hommes persistent a vouloir s'etablir ici je vous previent en bon pere qu'il y a 6 a 7 cents guerriers au

fort de chartres qui sont la pour faire la guerre aux anglais ce qui les occupent beaucoup dans ce moment parce qu'ils portent toutes leur atention au bas du fort de chartres d'ou il attendent les anglais—mais s'ils apprennent que vous etes ici il n'y a pas de doute qu'ils viendereont vous defaire. Voyez presentement vous autres guerriers—s'il ne pas prudant que vous parties d'ici au plutot, que d'y rester pour vous y voir massacre—vos femmes et vos enfants déchirés par morceaux et leurs membres jette aux chiens—et aux oizeaux Carnatiers—rappellez vous que c'est un bon pere qui vous parle reflechichez bien sur ce qu'il vien de vous dire et rendez lui reponse le Soir—je ne puisse pas vous donner un terme plus long—parce qu'il faut que je me rendre au fort de chartres—

Le soir toutes la nation—hommes femmes et enfans vinrent trouver Mr de Laclede—et lui dire qu'ils avaient bien ouvert leurs oreilles a son discours et qu'ils suivraient en tous ses conseils qu'ils le priaient de vouloir avoir pitie des femmes et des enfans et leur donnent du vivres—et un peu de poudre et balles pour les hommes pour qu'ils puissent chassir en remontant le missouri et se defendre s'ils etaient attaqués—Mr de Laclede leur dit qu'il aurait pitie d'eux—et les rêmis au lendemain—il ne put pas leur rien donner ce jour la parce qu'il n'avait pas assez de mais qu'il fut obliger d'envoyer chercher aux Caos. Aussitot qu'il le recu il leur en donna une grande provision de la poudre, des Balles des couteaux et quelques autres merseries—et le jour suivant tous le village des missouris partir—pour monter le missouri et aller a leur ancien village—apres avoir rester ici 15 jours—dans les cours des quelles—j'ai fait creuser la cave de la maison que nous etions apres battire par les femmes et les enfants —je leur donné en payement du vermillion, des aleinis du verd de gris ils la creuserent en grande parti—ils

charroyaient la terre dans des plats du bois et des paniers qu'ils portaient sur la tete.

Mr de Laclede apres avoir donner les ordres qu'il croyait necessaire pour les travaux de son etablissement parti peu de jour aprés les Sauvages pour se rendre au fort de chartres—Les—personnes qui s'etaient sauvés aux Caos a la Rivé des Sauvages—Revinrent—sitot qu'ils surent qu'ils s'etaient retirai—et commencerent Leurs maisons ou pour mieux dire leurs Cabanes—et enterererent leurs terrains—en se conforment aux lignes des Lots—qui j'avais tiré suivant le plan que m'avais lesser Mr. Laclede.

Mr Deneyon de Villiers qui commandé la haute Louisiane sous le nom des illinois eut ordres du governeur général de la province d'Evaquie toutes La rive gauche du mississipi—qui avait été Cedé aux anglais par le traité de Versaille—en Consequence de ces ordres—il fit retirer les garrisons du fort des pees—dans la Riviere des illinois, cette du fort marsiaque dans la Belle Riviere. Le poste vincennes dans le voibache ou Commandé Mr de St. Ange de Bellerive—et quoique le fort des Canses fut dans le missouri il fit descendre la petite garrison de ce poste—et meme un officier qu'il avait envoyé pour construire un fort dans la riviere des ozages prés du Village du cette nation—une fois qu'il eut reuni toutes ses troupes au fort de chartres il ordonna á Mr de St. Ange d'y rester avec 40 hommes 1 Captaine 2 Lieutenans pour livrer le fort aux anglais que l'on attendait tous les jours et lui se disposa á descendre le 10 juillet 1764 avec les restant de ses troupes tous les employers du gouvernment, et une grande partie des habitans des Villages du fort de chartres, et de la prairie du Rocher—a qu'il promis de leur faire donner des terres gratis prés de la N^lle^ orleans pour le sacrifice qu'ils faisaient de leurs biens—pour aller s'etablir dans la basse Louisianne sous le gouvernment francais plutot que de rester sous la dom-

ination anglaise qui etaient des héretiques &c—mais le vrai motif de Mr de neyon etait de mener avec lui une grande suite et descendre le mississipi en triomphe pour faire á croire au gouvernment qui tous les habitans suivaient par le pure estimé qu'ils avaient pour sa personne et par la s'attirer la confiance des autorities pour obtenir une place qu'il avait en vu-mais quand il su en arrivant a n[1] orleans que le pays était cedé a l'espagne ce la le desira de passer en Europe et il oublia toutes les promesses qu'il avait faits—a les pauvres incredules qui resterent sur la grave sans savoir ou donner de la tete et le gouvernement parce qu'il savant des que la colonie changait sous peu de Domination de sorte que ces infortunes qui avaient abandonné le peu de bien qu'ils avaient aux illinois pour aller vivre sous le gövernement francais se trouverent totalement disapointé dans leurs esperances—des uns pour pouvoir vivre avec leur familles gagnerent les appelousas, les autres les axtitapas ou ils ne purent cependant pas y porter accuse du frais le material de ce qu'ils avaient descendu et ils furent obligés—de les donner pour presque rien et cela pour se procurer un peu de mais et de riz—ceux qui avait quelques moyens remonter aux illinois furent bien heureux s'y trouver. Mr de Laclede qui les assista dans bien de choses—et leur observant que s'ils avaient voulus suivre ses conseils comme ont fait ceux qui n'avaient pas voulu suivre leurs mauvaises destines ils ne seraient pas dans les mauvais situation ou ils etaient—Mr de Laclede penetrant les motifs qui faisaient agir Mr de Neyon ce qui lui fit faire par humanité tous soins possible sans aune vu d'enteret que pour les empecher de descendre en leur disant que le gouvernement anglais n'etait pas si terrible que l'on voulait bien dire—que pour lui il en avait une idée bien plus aventageuse—que cependant si par une suite de faut prejuges—il ne voulaient pas rester sous ce gouvernement il les engagait a monte

dans son nouvel etablissm[t] qu'il leur faciliterai le moyen d'y se rendre avec leur effets. et que leurs animaux il etait bien facile de les conduire par terre puisque le trajet n'etait que de 19 lieues—par un beau chemin—plusieurs familles accepterent ces offres il leur procura de suite de voiture avec les agrés necessaire pour se rendre a St. Louis—et lá il les facilita dans leur etablissm[t] m'ordonna le leur assigner des terrains suivant le plan qu'il avait fait, ce que je fits le plus ponctuellement possible—Comme j'ai deja observé que sitot le depart de la nation missouri les habitans qui s'etaient retirer aux Caos—Revinrent—ce petit nombre—avec ceux du fort de chartres commencerent a donner une petite conssistance a St. Louis.

A joseph Tayon	Beaugenoux	J[ph] Labrosse
Roger Tayon	Cotté	" Labrosse
Dechene	Pichet	Louis chancellier
Beauchamps	hervieux	Chancellier
Morcerau	Bacune	gamache
joseph Bequet	francoise Delin	Ride
Andre Bequet	La Garosse	Roi
gabriel dodier	Kierseraux	Layoie mercer
B[te] Marligné	gregoire Kierceraux	La grain
Lemoine Marligné	alexis Picard	
	antoine Pothier	

Aprés le depart de Mr de neyon qui fut le 10 juillet 1764 et l'emigration des habitans pour St. Louis—le Village du fort de chartres resta totalement desert—excepter la garrison du fort et quelques employers du governement—qui restaient aussi tous dans le fort—parce que dans le village une partie des maisons furent demolie par les proprietaires qui prirent les planches—les ouvertures et enfin tous ce qu'ils purent transporter—dans les places ou ils crurent pouvoir s'etablirent. Dans le courant de l'hiver de 1764 á 1765 les Sauvages au nord de ce pays surent que les anglais fisaient un armement a la n[lle] orleans—pour prendre possession du pays illinois—Ces Sauvages voulant y opposer se

renderent au fort de chartres au nombre de 400 hommes ayant a leur tete le fameux Pondiac de la nation outarrois qui avait un pouvoir absolue sur sur tous ces trubus et cela pour les avoir commander dans beaucoup de prise de fort occupé par les anglais—a qui il fesant une guerre cruele depuis le paix de 1762—il disait qu'il faisait cette guerre pour vanger les francais—mais le Vrai de la chose etais par l'esprit du pillage—et de Brigandage—a son arrivé au prés du fort de chartres il fit camper son monde a une bien petite distence—et obligea les les nations peorias et mecchiquamice qui avaient leur village a une lieue du fort—a prendre les armes avec eux si le cas le requerai.—les illinois ne parraissaient pas bien disposez a vouloir le faire il leur dit si vous ézité un moment je vous détruirait comme le feu qui passe dans une prairie ouvrez bien vos oreilles et rappellez vous que c'est pondiaque qui vous parle—des ce moment des illinois parurent—etre de la cotisation—je crois parce qu'ils ne pouvaient par faire autrement. aprés divers despotions pondiac fut voir Mr de St Ange et mena avec lui les braves de son parte—il lui dit en le voyant—Mon pere—il y a Longtemps que je desir moi et mes guerriers de te donner la main—et de fumer en semble dans notre calumet de paix en nous rapellons toutes les campagnes que nous avons fait en semble de se rassemblement et de leur projets serré contre les sauvages et ces chiens d'anglais.

Mr de St Ange de Bellerive etait Canadien un ancien officier qui avait fait le guerre sa plus tendre jeunesse —Contre les Sauvages dans la quelle il S'Etait attirer beaucoup de considerations sur tout aprés l'attaque et la défaite de l'arme qui avait été au que chiquachats —ou il etait sous les ordres de Mr Prudomme. Mr Prudaumme etait un brave officier qui avait fait la guerre en Europe. Il voulut suivre le meme tatique en la ferant aux Sauvages. Mr de Bellerive lui fit les

observations sur la maniere de faire cet guerre ces representation parurent offenser Mr Prudomme et il voulut toujours suivre ses principes Europeanne á l'attaque du fort des chiquaches—qui etait dans une grande prairie—entouré de fort pieux et bien terrassé et dans le quel il y avait environ 800 guerriers bien armée et generalm^t^ bon tireurs de carabine—ce dont ils etaient parfaitment instruit par des prisonniers francais que les chiquachats avaient fait et qui s'etaient céhapés—malgre ces information de la situation de ce fort Mr Prudaume voulu le prendre d'asseaux—en consequence il deposa ses troupes et en ordonna l'attaque. Mr Bellerive lui observa sur l'heure que vu la situation de ce fort il regardait comme impossible de la prendre de vive force qu'il vollait mieux attendre l'alterie qui avaient a leur camp de Reserve qui etait sur le mississipi et quand en attendant son arrivé il pourraient investire le fort et que par ce moyens—ils s'assuraient une réussite complete—et qu'autrement on courait risque d'une defaite dessastreuse. des officiers Canadien que etaient venu du Canadat avec Mr Bellerive pour se joindre a Mr Prudaume avec un detachement de Blanc et de Sauvages—aprouverent le plan de Mr Bellerive—et les officiers de france qui etaient montés de la nouvelle orleans—avec Mr Prudaume etaient de son sentement.—aprés bien des paroles d'une part et d'autre—Mr Prudaume s'addressant a Mr de Bellerive et lui dit d'un air fier et hautin—*Monsieur quand on a peur du Loup on ne va pas au Bois.* Mr. Bellerive lui dit—ce n'est pas dans ce moment que je Doit vous repond je vous direz seulement que je ne crains pas les Balles pas meme les Balles—mais bien de passer pour un ignorant dans l'attaque d'un fort et que nous sacrifions 2000 hommes que sont sous nos ordres sans espoire d'en rechaper une faible partie sans aune Esperance l'armée qui est sous nos ordres—et il

en serait du—Contraire Si nous attendions notre artillerie—vous voulez absolument attaquer et prendre sans altererie ce fort—et bien *marchons*—les chefs sauvages qui etaient present au départ des 2 chefs quand ils virent Mr Bellerive marché sur le fort coururaient a lui le prirent par les mains et Lui dirent Bellerive arrette lá ou va—tu—tu ne voit pas qu'il est impossible de prendre ce fort sans canon—et que si vous persister á vouloir le faire vous serez tous tué et il s'en suivera que votre armée sera totalement massacrée—Crois nous—renonce á cet attaque rappelle tes gens que tu a amené du Canada—laisse faire ce fou de chef—qui va se faire tuer et ceux qui le suiverons tu dit il est un brave—il faut que tu le suivre et tu ne le fesait pas tu passerez pour un Lache—non Bellerive tu ne passera jamais pour tel qui—est que ne connait pas—toutes les campagnes qui tu a faits et dans les quelles tu a toujours reussie—qui ne se rapelle pas que c'est toi qui a reduit Les nations Sacs et renards—toutes ces campagnes t'on acquit l'estime et la confiance des blanc et des Peaux Rouges ils to regarderons toujours pour un Brave—ains: Crois nous—Reste et dispose de tous ceux qui sont venu avec toi du Canada—de maniere a sauver ceux—qui ne serons pas tués á la taque de ce fort—Mr Bellerive leur donna La main en leur disant. j'Espere mes freres que vous agirez dans l'affaire qui va se passe comme de Veritable braves—et comme vous avez toujours fait—Voila le chef qui marche il faut que je le suivre—*a Dieu.* il rejoinir Mr. Prudaume—le lui dit on l'accostant Mr—Voila le momant qui va descider le quel de nous d'eux eu tord sa ne Sera assurement ni vous ne moi qui pourrons decider la question mais eux qui nous surviverons—rappellez-vous si vous avez des ordres a donner Si je ne suis pas devant vous je serai accoté—ils approcherent avec fermité le fort et toutes la petite armée en fire autant a l'exxample de leurs

chefs qui avoir donna l'ordre d'abattre les pieux a coup de haches—mais quand ils furent a une demie partie de fusil ils recurent une decharge des assiegés qui tuerent les 2 chefs—beaucoup d'officiers—et un grand nombre de soldats—a la Segond decharge ils tuerent encore beaucoup de monde a La 3me Decharge qui fut la plus murtriere les assiegers se retirerent en desordre sans avoir pu blesser un seul homme et comment l'auraient il fait ils se battaient contre de forts pieux et une terrasse—Les assiegés s'appercevant de la deroute des assiegés—ils furent une sortie dans la qu'elle ils massacraient tous eux qu'ils pourvaient attraper—ou les pour suivrant avec une rage qui n'est connues que des barbara—heureusement la nuit vient ce qui mit a méme plusieur d'Echaper et de ganier le Camps de Reserve—Sitot Le jour venu—les sauvages —donnerent encore sur le chemain des fuyanes ils avaient des chiens qui decouvraint dans les Broussailles des Blessés—aussitot decouvers ils etaient coupés par morceaux—toutes cette journées se passa a les chercher —et a rejoindre eux—qui s'etaient ecorté du chemin— il perit dans la taque du fort—et dans la deroute 900 hommes Blancs—Les Sauvages—se retirerent des le commencement et gagnerent Le Camp de Reserve—ou ils dirent qu'il n'y avait pas de doutes que l'armée serait defaite—Sur cette nouvelle l'officier qui commandait doubla—Ses gardes et envoya sur le chemin un detachement—a La decouvert—ce detachement recontra plusieur officiers et soldats dont une grando partie etait Blessée ils confirmaient la destruction de L'armee —en modissant dans les termes les plus—Expressifs la conduite de Mr Prudaume et de son entetement a ne pas vouloir Suivre La Sages Conseils de Mr Bellerive qui—se fit tué pour un point d'honneur mal plassé dans une pareil circomstanse Le commandant du Camp Envoyait pendant 4 jours de forts detachement sur le che-

min a la Rencontre de ceux qui s'etaient echapés du massacre—aubout de ce temps ne voyant plus personnes et craignant lui meme d'etre attaqué il fit embarquer toutes l'artilleries et Les autres objets—qui y etaient—les troupes regles descendirent a La nouvelle orleans avec le materrielle de l'armee—et les milices s'acheminer avec le sauvages du Coté du Canada d'ou ils etaient partie—et il ne restat rien dans ce Campe—qui porte encore aujourd'hui le nom d'ecore a Prudaume——

Je reprends mon journal que j'ai arreté—jusqu'a present—et cela pour faire connaitre—quelles aitaiens les raisons pour quoi les sauvages avaient autant de respect pour Mr de Ange de Belle Rive frere de celus qui a été tué aux chiquachas et que lui meme avait souvant été en guerre avec ces memes sauvages et dans les quelles il s'etait attiré leurs confiances par sa Bravoure.

FRAGMENT OF COL. AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU'S NARRATIVE OF THE SETTLEMENT OF ST. LOUIS.

A Literal Translation from the Original French Ms., in Possession of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.

JOURNAL.

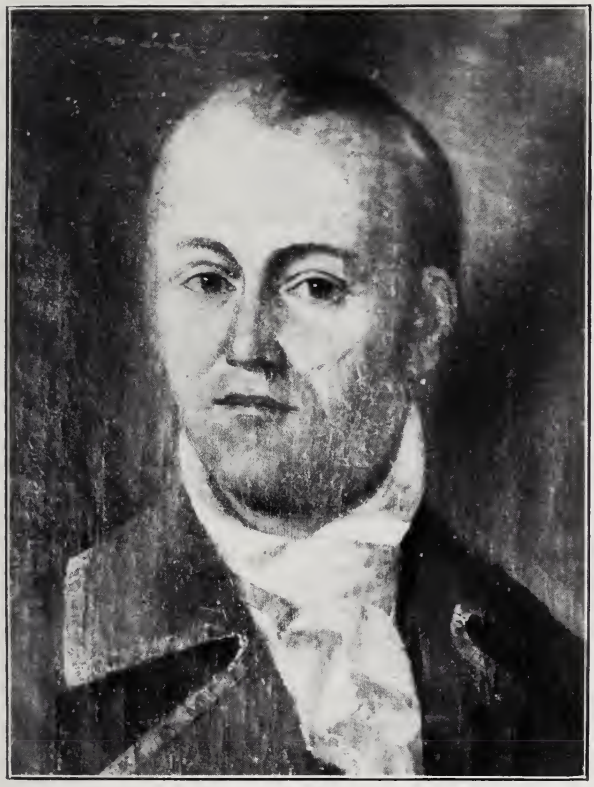
In the year 1762, M. D'Abadie, at that time Director General and Commandant of Louisiana, granted to a Company the exclusive trade with the savages of the Missouri, and all the nations residing west of the

Mississippi, for the term of eight years.[4] This company was formed under the name of M. Laclede Ligueste, Antoine Moxan and Company. Immediately after the terms and conditions were signed with the French Government, they took measures to import from Europe all the merchandise necessary to sustain, on a large scale, their commerce, which they proposed to extend as much as possible. While waiting for the arrival of the goods which they had ordered in Europe, they formed a considerable armament, at the head of which was placed M. Laclede Ligueste, known as a man of great merit, capable, from his experience, of conducting with skill and prudence, the interests of the company. He left New Orleans the 3rd of August, 1763, and arrived in Illinois the 3rd November following.

Observe, that all the establishments which the French had on the left bank of the Mississippi, were ceded to the English by the treaty of 1762, and that upon the right bank, which remained to the French, there was only the small village of Ste. Genevieve, in which M. de Laclede could not find a house capable of containing one-fourth of his merchandise. M. De

[4] The Missouri Historical Society has made diligent efforts to find a copy of the grant made by d'Abbadie to Maxent, Laclede & Co., but so far without success. By the kindness of Waldo G. Leland, Esq., the Society has acquired a copy of the order of the King to d'Abbadie relating to trade, and of the correspondence relating to the grant. D'Abbadie, in making the grant, acted in direct opposition to the King's order, and the grant was disapproved; the Minister declaring that "All exclusive privilege is in derogation of the laws of commerce and destructive of liberty; that the right to accord such privilege is reserved to his Majesty alone, when circumstances demand it." It appears from these papers that there were five or six persons in the Company, but their names have not been learned.

And see Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Francaise*, pp. 180, 217-8. D'Abbadie arrived in Louisiana 23 June, 1763, and the grant must have been made after that time.



Aug. Chouteau

Neyon, Commandant of Fort de Chartres, learning the embarrassment of M. de Laclede, sent an officer to him, to tell him that he could offer him a place for his goods, until the English should come to take possession. Necessity made him accept this generous offer of M. De Neyon. He left Ste. Genevieve, and arrived at Fort Chartres on the 3rd of November, 1763, where he disembarked all his goods, and prepared immediately all the supplies for the different nations. After all the business of the trade was done, he occupied himself with the means of forming an establishment suitable for his commerce, Ste. Genevieve not suiting him, because of its distance from the Missouri, and its insalubrious situation. These reasons decided him to seek a more advantageous site. In consequence, he set out from the Fort de Chartres in the month of December, took with him a young man in his confidence, and examined all the ground from the Fort de Chartres to the Missouri. He was delighted to see the situation (where St. Louis at present stands); he did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all the advantages that one could desire to found a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter. After having examined all thoroughly, he fixed upon the place where he wished to form his settlement, marked with his own hand some trees,[5] and said to Chouteau, "You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form our settlement after the plan that I shall give you." We set out immediately afterwards,

[5] It is said that the site of the original village was covered with a beautiful grove of walnut trees, without underbrush and with a fine blue grass turf.

to return to Fort de Chartres, where he said, with enthusiasm, to Monsieur De Neyon, and to his officers, that he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement, which might become, hereafter, one of the finest cities of America—so many advantages were embraced in this site, by its locality and its central position ,for forming settlements. He was occupied the rest of the winter in procuring all things necessary for the settlement—men, provisions, tools, etc.

Navigation being open in the early part of February, he fitted out a boat, in which he put thirty men, —nearly all mechanics,—and he gave the charge of it to Chouteau, and said to him: "You will proceed and land at the place where we marked the trees; you will commence to have the place cleared, and build a large shed to contain the provisions and the tools, and some small cabins, to lodge the men. I give you two men on whom you can depend, who will aid you very much; and I will rejoin you before long." I arrived at the place designated on the 14th of March,[5a] and, on the morning of the next day, I put the men to work. They commenced the shed, which was built in a short time, and the little cabins for the men were built in the vicinity. In the early part of April, Laclede arrived among us. He occupied himself with his settlement, fixed the place where he wished to build his house,[6] laid a plan of the village which he wished to found, (and he named it Saint Louis, in honor of Louis XV,

[5a] This should be 15 February, see page 338, ante.

[6] Laclede's house was built on the north side of the *rue* Royal, on the site now partly occupied by the house numbered 19 and 21 South Main street. It belonged later to Col. Chouteau, who rebuilt and enlarged it, after which it, with its beautiful garden, was for many years the show place of the town. It was destroyed in October, 1841, to make room for a block of business buildings which Madame Auguste Chouteau caused to be erected on the site.

LACLEDE HOUSE.

The small extension on the left is the calaboose which was built after the house was let to the Spanish Government.

whose subject he expected to remain, for a long time; —he never imagined he was a subject of the King of Spain;) and ordered me to follow the plan exactly, because he could not remain any longer with us. He was obliged to proceed to Fort de Chartres, to remove the goods that he had in the fort, before the arrival of the English, who were expected every day to take possession of it. I followed, to the best of my ability, his plan, and used the utmost diligence to accelerate the building of the house.

Whilst we were all very much occupied with this work, there arrived among us, in the month of ——— all the tribe of the Missouris,[7]—men, women and children; and although they did not appear to have any evil intentions towards us, they were not the less a heavy charge on us, from their continual demands for provisions, and from their thefts of our tools,—telling us, always, that they wished to form a village around the house we intended building, of which it would be the centre. All this talk disturbed me very much, and made me resolve to send for Monsieur de Laclede,— and what still more strongly determined me to do so, was, that there had come from Caos* some people to settle in the new village, but who left it again for fear of the Missouris, who numbered about one hundred and fifty warriors, while we were only thirty or thirty-

[7] The Missouri Indians lived at one time near the mouth of the Missouri River. Later they were established in a village on the north side of the river in the neighborhood of the present town of Brunswick. There they were attacked by the Sacs and Foxes, about the year 1700, and after a disastrous battle in which many were killed, they were obliged to retire to the south side of the river where they built their village in the neighborhood of the present town of Miami. That continued to be their principal abiding place until the latter part of the eighteenth century when they joined their kindred, the Otoes, on the Platte River.

* Cahokia.

five. But I should say that this tribe never appeared to have any hostile intentions whatever. Monsieur de Laclede arrived, and immediately the Chief of the Missouris came to see him, in order to hold a council. The result of the council was that they were worthy of pity; that they were like the ducks and the bustards, who sought open water in order to rest, and procure an easy subsistence; that they did not find any place more suitable, in their opinion, than the place where they were. Upon that, they said many things, which amounted always to this, that they desired to settle where they were. The council ended, Monsieur Laclede postponed, until the following day, his reply to them. The council again assembled, and, after much vague preliminary talk, Monsieur de Laclede spoke to them with his usual firmness: "You told me, yesterday, that you were like the ducks and the bustards, who traveled until they found a fine country, where there was beautiful open water, that they might rest there, and obtain an easy living; and that you, the Missouris, who were worthy of pity, resembled them, because you traveled like them to find a place to settle yourselves, and that you did not find any one more suitable than that where you are at present; that you wished to form a village around my house, where we should live together in the greatest friendship. I will reply to you in a few words, and I will say, that if you followed the example of the ducks and bustards in settling yourselves, you followed bad guides, who have no foresight; because if they had any, they would not put themselves into open water, so that the eagles and birds of prey could discover them easily, which would never happen to them if they were in a woody place, and covered with brush. You Missouris, you will not be eaten by eagles; but these men who have waged war against you for a long time past, who are in great numbers against you, who are few, will kill your war-

riors, because they will offer resistance, and will make your women and children slaves. Behold what will happen to you, for wishing to follow, as you say, the course of the ducks and bustards, rather than the advice of men of experience. You women, who are here present, and who listen to me, go, tenderly caress your children—give them food in plenty; also, to your aged parents,—press them closely in your arms,—lavish upon them all the evidences of the tenderest affection, until the fatal moment which shall separate you from them—and that moment is not far distant, if your men persist in their intention to settle here. I warn you, as a good Father, that there are six or seven hundred warriors at Fort de Chartres, who are there to make war against the English,—which occupies them fully at this moment, for they turn all their attention below Fort Chartres, from whence they expect the English,—but if they learn you are here, beyond the least doubt, they will come to destroy you. See now, warriors, if it be not prudent on your part to leave here at once, rather than to remain to be massacred, your wives and children torn to pieces, and their limbs thrown to dogs and to birds of prey. Recollect, I speak to you as a good Father; reflect well upon what I have just told you, and give me your answer this evening. I cannot give you any longer time, for I must return to Fort de Chartres."

In the evening, the whole nation, men, women and children, came to Monsieur de Laclede, and told him that they had opened their ears wide to his discourse, and that they would follow, in all things, his advice: and they prayed him to have pity upon the women and children, and give them provisions, and a little powder and some balls for the men, that they might hunt while going up the Missouri, and defend themselves, if they were attacked. Monsieur de Laclede told them that he would have pity on them, and detained them till the

next day. He could not give them anything that day, for he had not enough corn, which he was obliged to send to Caos for. As soon as he had received it, he gave them a large quantity,—some powder, balls and knives, and some cloth; and the day after, all the Missouris went away, to go up the Missouri and return to their ancient village,—having remained here fifteen days, in the course of which I had the cellar of the house, which we were to build, dug by the women and children. I gave them, in payment, vermillion, awls and verdigris. They dug the largest part of it, and carried the earth in wooden platters and baskets, which they bore upon their heads.

Monsieur de Laclede, after giving the orders which he thought necessary, for the works of a settlement, left, a few days after the savages, for Fort de Chartres. Those persons who had fled to Caos on the coming of the savages, returned as soon as they knew that they had gone away, and commenced building their houses, or, to speak more correctly, their cabins, and entered their lands, agreeable to the lines of the lots which I had drawn, following the plan which Monsieur de Laclede had left with me.

Monsieur de Neyon de Villiers,[8] who governed Upper

[8] The Chevalier Pierre Joseph de Neyon de Villiers was born in Lorraine of a family more noble than rich.

He entered the army, and in 1735 was ensign in the regiment of Choiseul; in 1742 he was lieutenant in the regiment of Marainville; in 1774 he was *aide-major* in the Royal Lorraine regiment, and was wounded at Wissembourg; in 1747, he was captain and took part in the battle of Landfelt. He came to Louisiana in 1749, as an officer in the troops, and from 1755 to 1764 was major-commandant at Fort Chartres in Illinois. In 1759 he was invested with the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. He left Fort Chartres 15 June, 1764, and arrived at New Orleans 2 July. He took with him six officers, sixty-three soldiers and eighty of the people, men, women and children. (2 Gayarré *Histoire de la Louisiane*, p. 126.) He returned

Louisiana, under the name of Illinois, had orders from the Governor-General of the province, to evacuate the whole left bank of the Mississippi, which had been ceded to the English by the treaty of Versailles. In consequence of these orders, he caused to be withdrawn the garrisons of Fort des Pees,[9] upon the Illinois River, that of Fort Marsiaque, on the Belle Riviere; the post of Vincennes, upon the Wabash, where commanded Monsieur de St. Ange de Bellerive;[10] and, although the

to France in 1765 and remained there until 1773, in which year he was made Colonel of the regiment of Guadeloupe, and in the same year he was promoted to be Brigadier General. In the year 1775 he was governor of *Marie-Galant*. He became quite ill in 1779, and his physicians urging his return to France, he embarked but his ship was captured by the English and he died at sea.

It was said of him that he was fitter to govern a colony than to command a regiment. Instead of accumulating riches in his government of the Illinois, as was charged against some of the governors there, he returned to France in 1765 with a much diminished fortune.

Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Annés de la Louisiane Française*, p. 190, note.

Du Terrage attributes Chouteau's criticisms of Neyon to his disappointment at seeing his own work compromised by the departure of the Illinois colonists.

Neyon de Villiers was in no way connected with the famous Canadian family of Coulon de Villiers, which furnished so many notable men to American history.

[9] By the Fort des Pees is meant the fort among the Peorias; Marsiaque is now known as Massac. Causes is a misprint for Canses—Kansas.

[10] This was Louis St. Ange de Bellerive. He was a son of Robert Groston de St. Ange and Marguerite Crevier, and was born in Canada 20 February, 1702. He came to the Illinois about 1722, and went up the Missouri the next year. In 1736, the year of the expedition against the Chickasaws mentioned by Col. Chouteau, he was in command of a fort on the Missouri, somewhere in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Kaw. After the surrender of the Illinois country on the East of the Mississippi to the British, he removed the seat of government to St. Louis, in what was then called the Western part of the Illinois, and continued the French rule until the arrival of the Spanish governor Piernas in 1770. He died in St. Louis 26 De-

Fort des Causes was in Missouri, he brought down the little garrison of this post,—and even an officer whom he has sent to build a fort on the Osage River, near a village of the tribe of the same name. As soon as he had collected all the troops at Fort de Chartres, he ordered Monsieur de St. Ange to remain there with forty men, one captain and two lieutenants,[11] to deliver up the fort to the English, who were expected every day, and he himself prepared to go down the river on the 10th of July, 1764, with the remainder of his troops, and all the employees of the government, and a large part of the inhabitants of the villages of Fort de Chartres and Prairie du Rocher, for whom he promised to obtain free grants of land, near New Orleans, for the sacrifices they were making of their property, in order to go and settle in Lower Louisiana, under the French government, rather than to remain under the dominion of the English, who were heretics, &c. But the real motive of Monsieur de Neyon was, to take with him a numerous train, and to descend the Mississippi in triumph, to make the government believe that all these people followed him for the great esteem which they had for his person; thereby to gain the confidence of the authorities, in order to obtain a place that he had in view. But when he learned on arriving at New Orleans, that the country was ceded to Spain, he determined to return to Europe. He forgot all the promises

cember, 1774. The St. Ange who went on the expedition against the Chickasaws was Pierre de St. Ange, an elder brother of the governor. For an account of the several members of the St. Ange family in Missouri and Illinois see *Publication Number Fourteen of the Illinois State Historical Library*, p. 135.

[11] The captain who remained with St. Ange at Fort Chartres was Pierre Francois d'Haute-mer de Volsay; the lieutenants were Louis Picoté de Belestre and Pierre de Berqueville. All of them accompanied St. Ange to St. Louis.

that he had made to these poor, credulous people, who remained upon the strand without knowing where to lay their heads, and the government troubled themselves but little about them, because they knew that the colony would soon change masters. So that these unfortunate people, who had abandoned the little property which they possessed in Illinois, to go and live under the French government, found themselves completely disappointed in their hopes. Some of them, in order to live, went with their families to Opelousas, others to Atakapas, where, however, they could not carry, on account of the want of facilities for transportation, the materials which they had brought down with them; and they were obliged to give them for almost nothing, in order to procure a little maize and rice. Those who, having some means, returned to Illinois, were very happy to find there Monsieur de Laclede, who aided them in a great many ways, and observed to them, that if they had been willing to follow his advice, as others had done, who had not wished to follow their evil destiny, they would not now be in the unpleasant situation in which they found themselves.

Monsieur de Laclede, penetrating the motives which actuated Monsieur de Neyon, did all in his power to hinder them from going down, which he did without any interested view, but through humanity, telling them that the English government was not so terrible as they wished to make them believe; that, for his part, he had a much more favorable opinion of it. However, if, in consequence of false prejudice, they did not wish to remain under this government, he would recommend them to go up to his new settlement, and he would facilitate for them the means of getting there with their effects; and, as for their animals, it was very easy to conduct them by land, since the jour-

ney was only nineteen leagues by a good road. Several families accepted these offers, and obtained immediately the wagons and the necessary harness to proceed to St. Louis, and there he aided them in settling, and ordered me to assign them lands, according to the plan that he had made, which I did as exactly as possible. As I have already observed, that immediately upon the departure of the tribe of the Missouris, the inhabitants* who had fled to Caos had returned, and, with those of Fort de Chartres, commenced to give some permanence to St. Louis.[12]

After the departure of Monsieur de Neyon, which took place the 10th of July, 1764,[13] and the emigration

* A. Joseph Tayon, Roger Tayon, Dechene, Beauchamps, Morcerau Joseph Bequet, Andre Bequet, Gabriel Dodier, Baptiste Marligne, Lemoine Marligne, Beaugenou, Cotte, Pichet, Hervieux, Bacune, Francois Delin, La Garosse, Kierseraux, Gregoire Kierceraux, Alexis Picard, Antoine Pothier, Th. Labrosse, Labrosse, Louis Chancellier, Chancellier, Gamache, Ride, Roi, Layoie, Le Grain.

[12] From the use of the asterisk in the translation, it would appear that the persons named in this list are those who fled to Cahokia from fear of the Indians. There is no asterisk in the original, and the list is intended to be the muster roll of the thirty (in a deposition given 18 April, 1825, Col. Chouteau said *upwards of thirty*) men who came with Chouteau from Fort Chartres. Indians were not novelties to these people, and it is likely that those who went to Cahokia were those who had homes there.

The errors in the list seem to be the mistakes of a copyist, and would indicate that Col. Chouteau had transcribed it from some previously written document. *Beauchamps* was probably intended for Deschamps. *Marcereau* should be Marcheteau *dit* Desnoyers. The Becquets were both named Jean Baptiste, *Marligné* should be Martigny. The Martignys were near kinsmen of Iberville and Bienville. *Bacuné* should be Bacanné *dit* Riviere. *Layoie* was Jean Sallé *dit* Lajoie. Most of the men named in the list became respected citizens of St. Louis, and many have descendants now living in the City. Nearly all were Canadians who had lived in the villages about Fort Chartres. For further information concerning them see Billon's Annals, 1764-1804, and Collet's Index to the St. Louis Archives.

[13] D'Abbadie says in his Journal under date 2 July, 1704, "M. de Neyon arrived from the Illinois where he evacuated the post the 15th of June, leaving there forty men and delivering up the command

of its inhabitants to St. Louis, the village of Fort de Chartres remained totally deserted, except the garrison of the fort, and some government employees, who also lived in the fort, because in the village, a part of the houses had been demolished by the owners, who took the boards, the windows and door frames, and everything else they could transport, to the places where they intended to settle. In the course of the winter of 1764-5, the savages of the north of this country knew that the English were fitting out an expedition at New Orleans, to take possession of the Illinois country. These savages, desiring to oppose this, set out for Fort de Chartres, to the number of four hundred men, having at their head the famous Pontiac, of the Ottawa nation, who had absolute authority over these tribes, because he had commanded them in the capture of many forts occupied by the English, against whom he waged a cruel war, since the peace of 1762. He said that he fought to avenge the French; but in truth, it was through a disposition for robbery and plunder. Upon his arrival near Fort de Chartres, he encamped his people at a short distance, and obliged the Peorias and Mecchiquamici (who had their village a league from the fort,) to take up arms with them, if the case should require it. The Illinois not appearing very well disposed to do so, he said to them: "If you hesitate one moment, I will destroy you, like the fire which passes through a prairie; open wide your ears, and remember it is Pontiac who speaks." From this moment, the Illinois appeared to make part of the coalition,—I believe, because they could not do otherwise. After various arrangements Pontiac went to

to M. de St. Ange. The convoy which descended the river was composed of 21 *bateaux* and 7 *pirogues* in which were seven officers, sixty-three soldiers and some inhabitants who wished to re-establish themselves in the French possessions.

Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années*, p. 190.

see Monsieur de St. Ange, and took with him the braves of his party. On seeing him he said: "My father, for a long time I and my warriors have determined to give you our hand, and to smoke together our pipe of peace,—recalling to each other all the campaigns that we have made together against the savages, and those dogs of English."

M. de St. Ange de Bellerive was a Canadian, and an old officer, who had served from his tenderest youth against the savages, whereby he had gained much reputation, especially after the defeat of the army at Chiquachas,[14] where he was present under the command of M. Prudomme. M. Prudomme was a brave officer, who had fought in Europe, and wished to follow the same tactics in fighting the savages. M. de Bellerive having made some observations to him, upon the manner of conducting this war, these representations

[14] Col. Chouteau tells an entirely different story of the expedition of 1736 against the Chickasaws from that given in the official reports.

Bienville, the Governor of Louisiana, ordered Pierre d'Artaguette, who was in command at the Illinois, to lead his troops and such Indians as he could bring with him to the neighborhood of the Chickasaw towns, which were in Lee County, Mississippi, where Bienville would join him with troops from the lower country, and a concerted attack would be made.

D'Artaguette went accompanied by Pierre de St. Ange, as his second in command, Vincennes, a number of young officers, forty-one regular soldiers and ninety-nine militiamen. In addition there were thirty-eight Iroquois, thirty-eight Arkansas and about two hundred Illinois and Miamis. They set out from Fort Chartres 20 February, 1736.

Bienville was detained, and so advised d'Artaguette, but it was too late. He was in a position where he must either attack or be attacked. He chose the aggressive. The Illinois and Miami Indians ran away early in the action, and the others were overwhelmed by numbers. Many were killed, and most of the officers who were not killed outright were made prisoners. D'Artaguette, St. Ange, Vincennes, Father Senat, a Jesuit, who refused to escape and leave his friends, and a number of other officers and men were burned by their captors at a slow fire. There was no man by the name of Prud'homme in the party.

appeared to offend M. Prudomme, and he determined to follow his European principles in the attack of the fort of the Chiquachas, which was in a large prairie, surrounded by strong stakes and well embanked, and in which there were about eight hundred warriors, well armed, and generally good shots with the rifle. They were well informed of this fact, by some French prisoners whom the Chiquachas had taken, and who had escaped. In spite of this knowledge of the situation of this fort M. Prudomme wished to take it by assault; and, in consequence, placed his troops, and ordered the attack. M. Bellerive said to him, at that time, that, considering the situation of the fort, he looked upon the taking it by main force as impossible; that it would be better to await the arrival of the artillery, which was in the reserve camp on the Mississippi; and that, while awaiting its arrival, they could invest the fort, and, by this means, be assured of complete success; that, otherwise, they ran the risk of a disastrous defeat. The Canadian officers who had come from Canada with M. Bellerive, and had joined M. Prudomme with a detachment of white and savages, approved the plan of M. Bellerive, while the officers from France, who had come up from New Orleans with M. Prudomme, were of his opinion. After many words on one side and the other M. Prudomme addressed M. de Bellerive, and said to him, with a proud and haughty air: "Monsieur, when we are afraid of the wolf, we don't go in the woods." M. Bellerive said to him: "This is not the time to answer you. I will only say that I have no fear of bullets, but rather of being thought ignorant of the method of attacking a fort; and of losing two thousand men who are under our command, without the hope of saving a feeble remnant. The contrary would happen if we waited for our artillery. You are determined to attack and take the fort without artillery.

Very well! Let us march!!" When the Indian chiefs, who were present at the departure of the two leaders, saw M. Bellerive marching upon the fort, they ran to him, took him by the hand, and said: "Bellerive, stop; where are you going? Do you not see that it is impossible to take the fort without cannon, and that if you persist in trying to take it you will be killed, and, afterwards, your army will be totally massacred? Believe us, give up this assault, recall your men that you led from Canada, and let alone this mad chief who will be killed with all who follow him. You say that he is a brave, and that you must follow him; that if you do not do so, you would be branded as a coward. No, Bellerive, you will never pass for such. Who is it that does not know you, all the campaigns that you have made, and in which you have been always successful? Who does not recollect that it was you who reduced the Sac and Fox nations? All these campaigns have gained you the esteem of the whites and the red men; they will always regard you as a brave; so believe us. Remain, and dispose of all those who came with you from Canada, in such a way as to save those who will not be killed in the attack upon the fort." M. Bellerive gave them his hand, and said, "I hope, my brothers, that you will act in the affair which is about to take place, like true braves, as you have always done. See, the chief is advancing; I must follow him; farewell." He rejoined M. Prudomme, and said to him: "Now is the moment that will decide which of us was wrong; assuredly, it will be neither you nor I who will be able to decide the question, but those who will survive us. Recollect, if you have any orders to give, if I am not before you I shall be beside you." They advanced upon the fort with firmness, and all the little army did the same, following the example of their chiefs, who had given the

order to cut down the stakes with axes; but when they were within half gun-shot distance they received a discharge from the besieged, which killed the two chiefs, many officers, and a great number of soldiers. At the second discharge they again killed a great many; and, at the third discharge, which was the most murderous, the besiegers retired in disorder, without having wounded a single man. How could they have done so, since they fought against strong stakes and earth works? The besieged, perceiving the route of the besiegers, made a sortie, and massacred all whom they could overtake, pursuing them with a fierceness which is only known to barbarians. Happily, night came, and enabled several to escape, and regain the reserve camp. At daybreak the savages followed upon the path of the fugitives; they had dogs that discovered the wounded in the thickets, and, as soon as found, they were cut in pieces. All this day was passed in seeking them, and those who had strayed from the road. There perished, in the attack on the fort and in the rout, nine hundred men. The savages who were not engaged, and who gained the reserve camp, were there told that there was no doubt that the army would be defeated. Upon this intelligence the officer in command doubled his guards, and sent a detachment forward on the road to reconoitre. They met several officers and soldiers, of whom the greatest part were wounded, who confirmed the news of the destruction of the army, cursing, in the most expressive terms, the conduct of M. Prudomme, and his obstinacy in not being willing to follow the wise counsel of M. Bellerive, who allowed himself to be killed for a point of honor,—very untimely held under such circumstances. The commander of the camp sent, during four days, strong detachments to meet those who had escaped from the massacre. At the end of this time, not see-

ing any one, and afraid of being attacked himself, he caused to be embarked all the artillery and the other articles that were there. The regular troops descended to New Orleans, with the material of the army; the militia and savages took the road towards Canada, from whence they had come, and nothing remained in this camp, which retains, to this day, the name of l'Ecore a Prudomme.[15]

I take up again my Journal, which I had stopped until this time, in order to show the reason why the savages had so much respect for M. de St. Ange de Bellerive, brother of the one who was killed at Chicquachas, and who had himself often engaged in warfare, in company with these savages, in which he had gained their confidence by his bravery.

[15] Lesueur, who ascended the Mississippi as far as the Minnesote River in 1700, wrote in his Journal under date 21 May, 1700, "They say that M. de LaSalle built a fort or entrenchment in this place, and that a Canadian named Prud'homme having gone hunting lost his way, and that since that time (1682) these *Ecores* (bluffs) have been called the *Ecores* or the fort of Prud'homme." 5 Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissments* 403 *n;* and see Chesnel *Histoire de Cavelier de la Salle*, p. 151.

JEFFERSON.

Thine not to lead to cannon mouth
The sturdy North, the gallant South—
Thine but to win by peaceful ways
These hills of iron, these fields of maize.

NAPOLEON.

He gave to Europe sword and gun,
With patriot blood he stained her sod;
But to a land he never trod
His pen gave more than sabre won.

Douglas Malloch, *In Forest Land.*

Mary Lisa

MANUEL LISA.

By Walter B. Douglas.

(Continued from Vol. III, No. 3.)

The articles of co-partnership of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company provided for its continuance for the term of three years. By this limitation the existence of the company terminated 7 March, 1812. But notwithstanding the blows of adverse fortune which had fallen so heavily upon the company, the partners showed no disposition to yield. In the winter of 1811-12 a reorganization was effected under new articles of partnership, said to have been drawn by Charles Gratiot. All of the surviving members of the old company joined in the new, excepting William Morrison. He allowed his share in the old company to be carried into the new, but declined to take any active part, being probably moved thereto by a controversy which had arisen between Lisa and himself. Lisa had charged him with wrongdoing in buying furs from an employee of the company. The dispute was the subject of some acrimonious letters which were made public in the columns of the *Gazette,* but it apparently ended in words. The purposes of the new company were declared to be "to the end of exploring in a commercial way and hunting in that portion of country within the claims of the United States and westwardly of a point which shall be 500 miles from the United States present factories, and to conduct business within the said boundary and at the town of St. Louis."

The capital stock was put at fifty thousand dollars, divided into shares of one thousand dollars each. The second articles of the partnership agreement provided that, "Twenty-three thousand dollars of the said capital stock shall be subscribed for by individuals,

and the funds of the former St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, which is now up the Missouri, calculated at twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and eighty-five dollars, in goods, wares and merchandise, and debts due by hunters who are now out, as will appear with reference to the settlement of accounts of that Company in possession of General William Clark of St. Louis, shall constitute twenty-seven thousand dollars of the said fund and be taken into the common stock of this association subject to the future direction of the President and Directors aforesaid, and the undersigned individual members of the former St. Louis Missouri Fur Company shall be entitled to three shares each in this association for the goods, wares, merchandise, etc., which they have up the Missouri aforesaid."

The articles provided that unless sooner dissolved, as therein provided, the association should continue until the first Monday of December, 1818.

William Clark, Manuel Lisa and Sylvestre Labbadie were chosen directors. Clark was president and Lisa was the general manager and commandant of the trading expeditions.

An advertisement was published in the *Louisiana Gazette* asking for subscriptions to the twenty-three thousand dollars of unsubscribed capital, but no subscriptions were received. The association depended upon this twenty-three thousand for its working capital. Had it been forthcoming the company's success would have assured; without it failure was inevitable.

An attempt was made to raise the necessary funds among the partners. At a meeting held 8 February, 1812, it was resolved "that it is expedient that three thousand six hundred dollars cash and five thousand and four hundred dollars credit is necessary to be given by members of the company to complete the nec-

essary outfit, and that the president be authorized to call upon each individual member of the company for four hundred dollars cash, and a credit of six hundred dollars by their notes payable in August next."

To this call only the directors responded. Clark and Lisa each put up their notes for over ten thousand dollars and Labbadie for about one thousand. At this time Lisa borrowed from Antoine and Pierre Carraby of New Orleans three thousand dollars, the payment of which he secured by mortgage on the undivided one-half of the land granted to Joachim Lisa in 1779, which had been assigned by Joachim to him. This mortgage was not released until August, 1827; long after Lisa's death.[1]

The first expedition of the new company set out in two barges, one of which sailed on 2 May, 1812, and the other four days later. Lisa commanded the expedition, but as he was in St. Louis on 7 May, he must have met the boats at St. Charles.

It was on this expedition that Fort Lisa was built, eleven miles by land above the present city of Omaha, and new headquarters there established. But the upper river was not abandoned. A party under Toussaint Charbonneau was sent to the *Gros-ventres;* one under Nicolas Glineau to the Mandans, and one under Louis Lorimier to the Crows; the afterwards notorious mulatto, Edward Rose, being employed as their interpreter; Michel E. Immel made returns from Fort St. Michel *chez les Sioux,* and Philip Fontaine from the post at the Arickaras. It appears that a party under Etienne Cadron dit St. Pierre (a name well known on the other side of the Mississippi) was at Fort Manuel, but whether the party had wintered there or had been sent from Fort Lisa, is not made clear; nor can we be sure that the Fort Manuel men-

[1] St. Louis Records, Book C, p. 561.

tioned is the Fort Manuel (or Fort Raymond) built in 1808 at the mouth of the Big Horn, though that is to be presumed.

Three men, Charles Sanguinet *fils,* Charles Latour and Chevalier *cadet,* were sent by Lisa from Fort Manuel on an expedition *"pour serche les Chasseurs qui etet sur la Riviere des Espagnols et Arapaos."* He evidently had never abandoned his idea of opening up a trade with New Mexico, and on this occasion he gave a letter to Sanguinet addressed to the Spaniards with proposals to that end. The hunters for whom this search was made were, there is little reason to doubt, Ezekiel Williams, Jean Baptiste Champlain *fils* and about eighteen other men who left Lisa on the Missouri to go to the southward in 1810, though Williams says that they went in 1812.[2]

Lisa remained up the river all winter, and the other partners, excepting Reuben Lewis, who was with Lisa, were very busy at home. The regular annual meeting of the partners was held in St. Louis 7 December, 1812. There were present Governor Clark, Sylvestre Labbadie, Pierre Chouteau, Andrew Henry and A. P. Chouteau. Governor Clark had the proxy of Reuben Lewis.

Lisa was dropped from the directory and Pierre Chouteau elected in his place. The articles of association were amended by striking out the words, "one other member of the said Board of Directors so to be appointed shall be obliged to ascend the Missouri," and inserting in their place, "one of the Directors or stockholders, or such suitable person as the Board of Directors may employ shall be obliged etc."

The meeting also authorized and directed the Presi-

[2] The Missouri Historical Society expects to publish Williams's letter at an early date. It is the foundation upon which David Coyner built up his apocryphal story of *The Lost-Trappers.*

dent and Directors "to appropriate such funds of the company as may come into the hands of the President, in discharge of the debts of the company, and the surplus which may remain to be applied in making purchases of such articles as may in their opinion be necessary for the use of the company up the Missouri and for making an outfit to the amount of said surplus."

The vote for the ousting of Lisa is not given, but later events show that Governor Clark was not a party to it, and Lisa's friends in the meeting were probably Clark, Lewis, and Labbadie, or, perhaps, Henry instead of Labbadie. Lisa and Lewis returned to St. Louis in July, 1813, leaving Immel in command at Fort Lisa. The result of the expedition was a surplus of about nine thousand dollars, but, with Lisa at home, the project of employing the surplus for the purchase of another outfit was promptly dropped.

A meeting of the partners was held on 22 July, 1813, at which the President and Directors were authorized to sell all of the property of the company and to advertise for a meeting "for the express purpose of dissolving the said company."

Lisa, in the meantime, seems to have taken an active part in the everyday life of the village. War with Great Britain having been declared by Congress in June, 1812, while Lisa was on his voyage up the Missouri, he found on his return that the town was a center of military activity. He offered his services and was appointed captain of a volunteer company of infantry attached to the first regiment. Bartholomew Berthold was lieutenant of the company and Francis Guyol de Guiran was ensign. The military record of this company is unrecorded in history, but had the opportunity afforded, Lisa's qualities were such as to have achieved for him the fame of a Marion or a Jo. Shelby.

In August, 1813, the General Assembly of the territory of Missouri[3] passed an Act incorporating the Bank of St. Louis. Lisa, together with Col. Auguste Chouteau, Judge Jean B. C. Lucas, Moses Austin, Bartholomew Berthold and others, was appointed commissioner to open books for subscriptions to the capital stock. The stock was, after some delay, subscribed for and the bank began business, but it proved to be a losing venture. How much Lisa invested has not been learned, but his loss was, no doubt, a substantial one. It is said that the loss of his fortune by Moses Austin by reason of his connection with this bank was what turned his thoughts to the colonization of Texas.

Lisa was also appointed joint commissioner with Captain Theodore Hunt[4] to supervise the erection of a

[3] The name of the Territory was changed from Louisiana to Missouri 4 June, 1812.

[4] Theodore Hunt was born near Trenton, New Jersey, and was a cousin of Wilson Price Hunt of Astoria fame. He entered the navy at an early age, having been appointed midshipman 2 September, 1798. He was promoted to a lieutenancy 4 April, 1802. He was one of the officers of the *Philadelphia* during the war with Tripoli, and was captured by the Tripolitans, when the *Philadelphia* was wrecked on the rocks in the harbor at Tripoli, 26 August, 1803. Lieutenant Hunt, together with Captain Bainbridge, Lieutenant David Porter and many other officers and men were kept prisoners until June, 1805, when terms of peace were agreed upon. During their long imprisonment the Americans were treated sometimes with kindness, but often with great brutality. Hunt resigned from the navy 11 May, 1811. Some time after his resignation he visited his brother at Lexington, Kentucky, and extended his journey to St. Louis. He here met Miss Anne Lucas, and here he remained. He and Miss Lucas were married 23 June, 1814; Governor Clark being one of the witnesses to the marriage. They lived for many years in the house at the southwest corner of Second and Spruce streets, which Capt. Hunt bought from Lisa. Capt. Hunt engaged in business until 1824, when he was appointed by President Monroe U. S. Recorder of Land Titles, which office he held until his death. The volumes of *Hunt's Minutes* which he kept as Recorder are, by reason of his intelligent interest in the early history of Missouri, of great historical value. Capt. Hunt died on Saturday, 21 January, 1832, leaving his widow and three children surviving.

Theodore Hunt

bridge over the creek below the town of St. Louis. This bridge, which was known in its day as "the St. Louis bridge," spanned *la petit riviere* or Mill creek, as it was named by the Americans, on the road which was a continuation of Church, or Second, street. After crossing the bridge the way ran southwestwardly to the Catalan road, later the Carondelet road and now South Broadway. In the *Gazette* of that summer Lisa's name appears in advertisements offering rewards for the return of strayed oxen and a light gray horse.

The meeting for the dissolution of the company was postponed from time to time. Finally on 6 December, 1813, the partners came together, declared a dividend and adjourned until 17 January, 1814. On that day a letter from William Morrison was presented "accepting" membership in the company and he was accordingly "admitted under the same principles as the said company has been established." On the same day, it is further recorded, that the majority of the stockholders of the company "have unanimously agreed that the interest of the several members requires a dissolution of said company. Therefore it is agreed and well understood that said company is from this day and forever hereafter to be considered as dissolved and no longer exist."[5]

The defection of his associates and the disturbed condition of the Indian country would have stayed most men. Not so with Manuel Lisa. We can imagine him saying, with Don Quixote, "*Aun hay sol en las*

[5] The quotations from the Company's minutes, above given, are from a copy of the book in the library of the Missouri Historical Society. The Fur Company's books remained in the possession of the Clark family until the troublous times of the war between the States when they drifted to Kansas. Fortunately a portion of them were bought by the Kansas Historical Society to whose kindness we are indebted for the copy above mentioned.

bardas''—there is still sunshine on the hillside,—and setting to work with new vigor.

He enlisted Captain Theodore Hunt, his fellow bridge commissioner, in the trade, and they formed a partnership under the old name of the Missouri Fur Company.

Governor Clark showed his zeal for the public service, and his good will to Lisa, by appointing him subagent for the Indians on the Missouri River.

A boat was sent up the river early in August, by the new firm, but the men were frightened by the Indians and returned to St. Louis.[6]

Lisa then took charge of the expedition and sailed on 14 August. Captain Hunt also went up the river this year, but whether or not he went in company with Lisa is unknown.

[6]The *Gazette* of 13 August, 1824, contains the following: "A few days ago, a barge belonging to Messrs. M. Lisa & Co. which was ascending the Missouri to their trading establishment, was induced to stop at Mackey's Saline (commonly called Boone's Lick), as the country was overrun by the Indians and all the inhabitants in forts. The crew which arrived here [St. Louis] on Saturday night last, in a three-days' passage, report that on the south side of the Missouri, the Indians had taken all the horses and were killing the cattle for food; that on their arrival at the Saline, the people at Cole's fort were interring a man just shot by the Indians. On the north side, near Kinkaid's fort, a man was killed in a flax field. On Monday last, the 25th ult., 70 of the inhabitants assembled and set out as a patrole to observe the motions of the savages. After taking a considerable circuit they were about to return to their several forts when they observed a body of Indians which were instantly attacked; 4 were killed on the spot and one of our people was severely wounded.

Mackey's Saline is about 180 miles N. W. of St. Louis, situate on the north side of the Missouri. About 200 families are settled at that place within the skirt of a bottom extending 20 or 25 miles. The soil is said to be the most fertile of any in America, and abounding in salt springs. Although the inhabitants are settled beyond the pale of the laws, yet they are represented by all who have visited their country to have a better ordered police than most other countries abounding with volumes of laws."

The dissolution of the old company seems to have induced the belief that the field was open to all comers. The writer of the Journal of Long's expedition[7] says that the pressure and wiles of many rival traders had caused a decline of Lisa's influence and a falling off in his business. But so long as Lisa lived he held his own against all rivals and against all combinations.

It was the custom of those days for the traders and hunters to have a wife at home and a squaw up the river.[8] Following this custom Lisa this year took a squaw from the Omaha nation. The writer of the Journal of Long's expedition, quoted above, says that this connection was in the nature of a political alliance, and that Lisa's purpose was to assure and strengthen his influence with the Omahas.[9] This woman, whose name was Mitain, is said to have been "a beautiful squaw of one of the most distinguished families of the Omahaw nation," and to have been deeply in love with Lisa. She bore him two children, a daughter and a son, and his only living descendants are of her blood.

The demands of personal and business matters upon

[7] 2 Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Thwaite's Edition, p.

[8] Dr. F. A. Wislizenus in his interesting little book, *Ein Ausflug nach dem Felsengebirgen im Jahre* 1839, published in St. Louis in 1840, says:

"One of the trappers was a Fleming. He had with him a squaw of the Ute tribe, whom he had purchased for the sum of five hundred dollars, but he was disposed to part with her for half of the purchase price. She was a short, shapeless bit of obesity [*fettklumpen*], but seemed to possess very good qualities, for he commended her to us in the following words, characteristic of the cardinal virtues of a squaw: 'She is young, gentle, easy and in first rate order.' The trappers have acquired from the Indians the bad habit of regarding their Indian wives as things and not as persons, and the squaws themselves appear to wish nothing different."

[9] The journal above mentioned was written several years after the event. The writer had no personal knowledge upon which to base his statements, and his whole story of the affair, more of which will be given later, sounds like barracks gossip.

his time and attention were not allowed to interfere with the full performance of his new duties as Indian Agent. The settlers in Wisconsin, Michigan and the neighboring country who had never heard of Lisa were indebted to him for the preservation of their lives and property. Governor Clark, in his report (1815) to the Washington authorities gives a list of the Indian Agents, in which he speaks of Lisa as follows: "Manuel Lisa, salary $548. Agent for the tribes on the Missouri above the Kanzas; greater part of his time with the tribes; resides at St. Louis; has been of great service in preventing British influence the last year by sending large parties to war."[10]

An interesting contemporary account of Lisa's dealings has been preserved. Joseph Renville, the British guide and interpreter with the Sioux during the war of 1812, gave it to his mixed blood son, the Rev. John B. Renville, who reports it as follows:—

"During the war (of 1812) the Americans from Saint Louis stirred up much trouble between the Tetons and the Santees, and it seemed as if there was to be civil war in the Dakota Confederacy. Manuel Lisa was the American Agent and he set the Tetons against the Santees because the latter supported the English. That is the reason the Santees could not help the English more. Every time they started out to go to the lakes and Canada, runners would come and tell them that the Tetons were coming to destroy their families and they were compelled to return to their homes to protect their women and children. Lisa had his post either on American Island, where Chamberlain now is, or on Cedar Island above the big bend of the Missouri. He had a big post there and the Tetons were not nearly so poor as were the Santees, for they had plenty of buffalo meat and Lisa bought all their furs. Lisa was a very smart man, and he managed things so that all of the money and work of Dickson

[10] American State Papers, Vol. VI, Indian Affairs II, p. 76.

(the British agent) to get the Santees to fight the Americans was lost. He got one of our men (Tamaha, the one-eyed Sioux) to spy on his own people and let him know all that was being done. Father met Lisa several times after the war, and he boasted about the way he managed the Tetons.''[11]

The news of the treaty of Ghent travelled slowly in those days, and its effect upon the Indian allies of the respective parties was by no means immediate.

To further cement the friendships which he had formed and to intensify the animosities which he had aroused, Lisa brought down the river in June, 1815, a large party of friendly chiefs.

We first hear of them at St. Charles. In a letter of the Rev. Timothy Flint he says:

''Manuel Lisa, the great Spanish fur dealer on the Missouri, brought down a deputation of Indians from the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis. These savages, we were assured, had been so remote from white people and their ways, as never to have tasted the bread of the whites before this trip. They had the appearance of being more unsophisticated and panther-like, than any savages I had seen.''[12]

Their arrival at St. Louis was chronicled in the *Gazette* of Saturday, 10 June, 1815, as follows:

''On Tuesday last arrived here, from the upper Missouri, Mr. Manuel Lisa with 43 chiefs and head men of the several bands of Sioux, also the chiefs of the Mahas and Poncaras residing between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. These chiefs, etc., represent

[11] Interview of Doane Robinson, Esq., with Rev. John B. Renville, 10 August, 1901. The Missouri Gazette of that time has many notices of the work of Robert Dickson in arousing the hostility of the Indians towards the Americans. And in the Gazette of 17 June, 1815, is an account of a Sioux Indian who went up the river last autumn with Manuel Lisa, Esq., and visited the disaffected bands in the American interest.

[12] Recollections of The Last Ten Years passed in the Valley of the Mississippi, by Timothy Flint, Boston, 1826, p. 151.

nations who have offered their services to the United States and are anxious to make war on the Sacks and other hostile Indians, and have actually killed several Iaways a few weeks ago. Among this deputation we recognize Big Elk, the Maha Chief, Partizan, the Teton chief, and the little Dish, Yan'cton chief. Partizan, the Teton chief, is the person who attempted to stop Captains Lewis and Clark on their journey to the Pacific Ocean. Sometime about the middle of April 250 or 300 Poncaras had gone to war against the Sacks, which will no doubt bring those wretches to a sense of danger."

Lisa's guests remained in St. Louis for about three weeks. They had meetings in the council house at Main and Vine streets (S. E. corner), at which many speeches were made, and Ong-pa-ton-ga (Big Elk) presented the views of the visitors in the highest style of Indian oratory. From St. Louis they went to Portage des Sioux, long the favorite place for treaty making, and there on July 18 and 19, 1815, William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau, "Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of the said States," concluded treaties of friendship with the Teton Sioux, the Sioux of the Lakes, the Sioux of the River St. Peters, the Yancton Sioux, and the Mahas (Omahas). In all these Lisa took part. Treaties were also made there that Sumner with the "Poutawatamie" Nation, the Piankishaws, the Kickapoos, the Great and Little Osages, the Sacs, the Foxes and the Kansas.

A correspondent of the *Gazette* wrote from Portage des Sioux of the gathering:—

"This village and neighborhood exhibit an altered scene. Business, curiosity or pleasure has attracted to the spot a number of all colors and sizes; even vagrant gamblers may be noticed prowling about in search of prey. Col. Miller's camp presents a view highly interesting, the regularity and handsome display of

about 100 tents; the well ordered police, and above all a correct discipline will, I hope, ensure tranquility. The chiefs and warriors of the hostile Sacks have come to the number of 40 or 50. Namoitte, the principal butcher, is among them; they frown and strut about with the most insufferable impudence." *

Lisa took these Indians back to their homes in the fall, and he remained up the river all winter.

He returned to St. Louis about the middle of June, 1816, and started back up the Missouri about the first of September.

The only record of his actions during his stay is the following advertisement which appeared in the *Gazette*:

"Notice. Those gentlemen desirous of hearing proposals for a company for trading up the waters of the Mississippi and Missouri will attend at 5 o'clock this evening at Union Hall.

Manuel Lisa."

June 29 [1816]"

The partnership with Captain Hunt expired by limitation in 1817, and Lisa was perfecting his arrangements for the future conduct of the business.

The *Gazette* of 14 June, 1817, reports Lisa's return.

"Manuel Lisa arrived here yesterday from Fort Lisa, 45 miles above the River Platte, on the Missouri, with a valuable cargo of furs and peltries, said to be worth $35,000. We learn that the Indians generally are at war with one another. No accident happened to Mr. Lisa's party except in one instance; a party of Sioux (thought to be a war party) met a few of the laborers three miles from the fort, and shot through the body with an arrow Pedro Antonio, a Spaniard. The Indians might have cut off the whole party if they were inclined to further mischief."

* Missouri Gazette, Saturday, 10 June 1815.

He brought with him, this year, his little daughter, Rosalie, then about nineteen months old.[13]

He also brought down this year twenty-four chiefs and representatives of the Ottoes, Missouris and Poncas, the head chief of the Pawnees and two chiefs of the Sioux. Treaties were made at St. Louis by Clark, Edwards and Chouteau, representing the United States, with the Ottoes and the Missouris and the Poncas on 24 and 25 June, 1817.

While here at this time he published two letters written to Governor Clark which are sufficiently characteristic and intrinsically interesting to be reprinted. They are as follows:

"St. Louis, July 1st, 1817.

To his Excellency Governor Clark:

Sir:—I have the honor to remit to you the commission of sub-agent, which you were pleased to bestow upon me in the summer of 1814, for the Indian nations who inhabit the Missouri River, above the mouth of the Kansas, and to pray you to accept my resignation of that appointment.

The circumstances under which I do this demand of me some exposition of the actual state of these Indians, and of my own conduct during the time of my sub-agency.

Whether I deserve well or ill of the government depends upon the solution of these questions: 1st. Are the Indians of the Missouri more or less friendly to the United States than at the time of my appointment? 2d. Are they altered, better or worse, in their own condition during this time?

To the first proposition I have to say, that I received

[13] Rosalie was baptised 10 July, 1818, The entry in the Cathedral Register is as follows:

"Le dix juillet mil huit cent dix huit, nous soussigné avons batise Rosalie, fille naturelle de Manuel Lisa et d'une sauvagesse, née le vingt neuf novembre, 1815. Le parrain a été Jean Pierre Gratiot et la marraine Marianne Pelagie Pratte, lesquel out signé avec nous.

Marianne Pratte. Niel, prêtre. J. P. Gratiot."

this appointment when war was raging between the United States and Great Britain, and when the activity of British emissaries had armed against the republic all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi and of the northern lakes. Had the Missouri Indians been overlooked by British agents? No. Your excellency will remember that more than a year before the war broke out I gave you intelligence that the wampum was carrying by British influence along the banks of the Missouri, and that all the nations of this great river were excited to join the universal confederacy then setting on foot, of which the profit was the instrument, and the British traders the soul. The Indians of the Missouri are to those of the Upper Mississippi as four are to one. Their weight would be great, if thrown into the scale against us. They did not arm against the republic; on the contrary, they armed against Great Britain, and struck the Iowas, the allies of that power. When peace was proclaimed, more than forty chiefs had intelligence with me; and together we were to carry an expedition of several thousand warriors against the tribes of the Upper Mississippi, and silence them at once. These things are known to your excellency.

To the end of the war, therefore, the Indians of the Missouri continued of the United States. How are they today, when I come to lay down my appointment? Still friends, hunting in peace upon their own grounds, and we trading with them in security, while the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, silenced but not satisfied, give signs of enmity, and require the presence of a military force; and thus the first question resolves itself to my advantage.

To the second question I thus reply:—Before I ascended the Missouri as sub-agent, your excellency remembers what was accustomed to take place. The Indians of that river killed, robbed and pillaged the traders; these practices are now no more. Not to mention others, my own establishments furnish the example of destruction then, of safety now. I have one among the Omahas, more than six hundred miles up the Missouri, another at the Sioux, more than six hundred miles further still. I have from one to two

hundred men in my employment, quantities of horses, of horned cattle, of hogs, of domestic fowls. Not one is touched by an Indian; for I count as nothing some solitary thefts, at the instigation of white men, my enemies; nor as an act of hostility, the death of Pedro Antonio, one of my people shot this spring, as a man is sometimes shot amongst us, without being stripped or mutilated. And thus the morals of these Indians are altered for the better, and the second question equally results to my advantage.

I have had some success as a trader; and this success gives rise to many reports.

Manuel Lisa must cheat the government, and Manuel Lisa must cheat the Indians; otherwise he could not bring down every summer many boats loaded with rich furs. Good. My account with government will show whether I receive anything out of which to cheat it. A poor five hundred dollars as sub-agent salary, does not buy the tobacco which I annually give to those who call me *father*.

'Cheat the Indians.' The respect and friendship which they have for me, the security of my possessions in the heart of their country, respond to this charge, and declare, with voices louder than the tongues of men, that it cannot be true. But Manuel Lisa gets so much rich fur! Well, I will explain how I get it. First. I put into my operations great activity. I go a great distance while some are considering whether they will start today or tomorrow. I impose upon myself great privations. Ten months of the year I am buried in the depths of the forest, at a vast distance from my own house. I appear as the benefactor, not as the pillager: of the Indian. I carried among them the seed of the large pumpkin from which I have seen in their possession fruit weighing one hundred and sixty pounds; also the large bean, the potato, the turnip; and these vegetables will make a comfortable part of their subsistence; and this year I have promised to carry the plow. Beside, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding a preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak, and of the old

men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of the natives and the consequent choice of their trade.

These things I have done, and I propose to do more. The Ricarees and the Mandans the Gros-ventres and the Assininboins find themselves near the establishment of Lord Selkirk, upon the Red River. They can communicate with it in two or three days. The evils of such a communication will strike the minds of all persons, and it is for those who can handle the power to dilate upon them.

For me, I go to form another establishment to counteract the one in question, and shall labor to draw upon us the esteem of these natives, to prevent their commerce from passing into the hands of foreigners.

I regret to have troubled your excellency with this exposition. It is right for you to hear what is said of a public agent, and also to weigh it and consider the source whence it comes. In ceasing to be in the employ of the United States I shall not be less devoted to its interest. I have suffered enough in person and in property under a different government to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your excellency's obedient servant.

Manuel Lisa."

"St. Louis, July 2d, 1817.

"Sir:

Last year, I arrived from the Missouri the 22d of June, and learned that scandalous reports were circulated against me. I wrote and published an article in the *Gazette* of this town. The calumny was refuted, and the authors refused to unmask themselves. On the first of September I re-entered the Missouri, and ascended to my upper establishment, a distance of twelve hundred miles. Returning to this place on the 14th instant, I learned from you the day before yesterday, that certain scandalous reports were again on foot to my prejudice.

1. That I had disposed of the merchandise of government to my own account.
2. That I had not brought down the Panis [Pawnees] to treat with the Commissioners at St. Louis, upon their requisition.
3. That I had prevented the Omahas from revenging upon the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio.
4. That I had misapplied the provisions, given me last year, for the Sioux and Omahas returning home.
5. That I sold whiskey to the Indians.

I owe it to you, sir, from whom I received the appointment of sub-agent, to exculpate myself from these charges, which I propose to do in a few words.

I received your order the 24th of August, 1814, to receive from Mr. Sibley, $1,335 of merchandise, prices of St. Louis, to be distributed among the Indians of the Missouri, to engage them in offensive operations against the enemies of the United States. The 20th of August, the same year, General Howard, in his official letter, wrote to me, saying, 'I hope you will be able to raise the Sioux against the other Indians of the Mississippi. If you succeed in exciting them to war, it is important, at least, that one of the principal chiefs of each band come to St. Louis.'

1. I distributed the merchandise. I raised the war parties. The presents were made among the Omahas and the Yanctons. The former made some scalps which were brought to St. Louis in February, 1815. I gave a rendezvous to the Yanctons at the entry of the river *a Jacques,* where there met me about nine hundred warriors, and went and took twenty-seven scalps from the allies of Great Britain, the Iowas of the Upper Mississippi; and completed the request of General Howard by bringing down to St. Louis forty-seven warrior chiefs. This is all of the merchandise I have received from government; it has all been distributed, and the objects of the distribution have all been accomplished.

2. The Panis were not brought down. That is true. I did not bring them because the official letter of Mr. Sibley prevented me from doing it. I wrote to you on the 29th of June past, and enclosed this letter, and

consider no other details necessary to my justification; as I could not doubt the official statement of an accredited Indian agent, that the treaty was closed and that it was not the wish of the Commissioners that any more Indians should be brought down.

3. I did prevent the Omahas from revenging on the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio. The case was this: Antonio, a Spaniard in my service, was killed nine miles from my establishment. His comrades fled and gave me intelligence. I took one hundred and ninety-two warriors of the Omaha tribe and went to the spot. Those who did the mischief had fled. The Omahas, impatient for blood, were eager to follow. I stopped them with my own presents and my own influence, and I take honor to myself for having done it. The body of Antonio was not mutilated; it was covered with a blanket and his face with a hat; his comrades might have been killed—they were not hurt. The death of Antonio, then, was a case of simple murder, and not an act of national hostility on the part of the Sioux. For one guilty act, must I turn loose two hundred warriors upon the innocent? Forget all moral principle, and turn barbarian myself because in a country called *savage?*

Besides, I had among the Sioux at my upper establishment, two Americans and a Creole who must have felt the tomahawk if I had revenged upon the innocent the death of Pedro Antonio.

I rejoice that the stupid calumniators have made this charge. In attempting to render such conduct criminal, they show the baseness of which they are capable, and the crimes they are ready to commit to injure me.

4. I had a contract for a certain sum, $1,100, and a certain quantity of provisions, to conduct the Omahas and the Sioux, the last fall, to their respective houses. There were forty-seven men of them, and the voyage was of three months. I received from the clerk of the commissioner, Mr. Wash, the order for the provisions, and the papers of his office will show the quantity. It will, then, be easy to calculate that barely enough was allowed to conduct the chiefs to their houses, and they were conducted there; and thus there

is no room for misapplication of a surplus which did not exist.

5. That I have sold whiskey to the Indians.

If this charge is true it is capable of being proved. There are in this town, at present, many persons who have been in my employment, characters of the first respectability; also five nations with whom I have traded; among them can be found witnesses to attest the fact, if it be true. On the contrary, I appeal to the whole of them, and pronounce it a vile falsehood. At the same time, it is an act of hospitality indispensable in his intercourse with the Indians, for the trader to treat his hunters with small presents of liquor. They look for it, and are dissatisfied if they do not receive it. The permanent trader makes such presents with discretion. I have made them, and urged the necessity of them to your Excellency.

This much I have been induced to write and publish, to refute the slanders against me, because I have but just arrived, and my affairs will require me soon to depart again, and I cannot be here to contradict them in person.

I have the honor to be with respect and consideration, etc. Manuel Lisa."[14]

His Excellency Wm. Clark."

The partnership with Captain Hunt came to an end this year.[15] Though their business relations were

[14] The foregoing letters are printed in the *Missouri Gazette*, 5 July, 1817, in the order here given. The *Gazette* of 1816 has been examined, page by page, for the article mentioned as having been then published, but no such article appears. The mention in the second of these letters of Lisa having conducted the Omahas and Sioux to their respective homes, *the last fall*, suggests that the letter itself may be the article which was written the year before for publication, now furnished with a new introduction and date.

[15] In the Gazette of 19 July, 1817, appears this advertisement:

"Notice: The partnership of the subscribers being dissolved by limitation, this is to inform all persons having any demands against the company trading under the firm and style of the Missouri Fur Company, that they will call upon Theodore Hunt who is hereby authorized to settle the business of the company, as witness our hands this 21st day of June, 1817, at St. Louis.

MANUEL LISA.
THEODORE HUNT."

terminated, the friendship between them ended only with Lisa's life.

Who, if any one, took part in the business in place of Captain Hunt, has not been learned.

In the *Gazette* of 9 August, 1817, it is stated,—

"We understand that M. Lisa, Esq., has sent to the eastward for a steam engine of sufficient force to work two pair of mill stones and three saws. This gentleman was the first who effectually developed the important fur trade on the Missouri. He is now about to lead the van in a manufactory of the first necessity."

A Steam Mill Company was organized in which Frederick Bates and William Smith were associated with Lisa. They bought a tract of land on the Mississippi River north of the village which was laid out as Smith, Bates and Lisa's addition to St. Louis. One of the streets in this sub-division was named Lisa street, and appears on the old maps under that name. Later it was merged into O'Fallon street; and there is now no street in St. Louis bearing Lisa's name. The Smith, Bates and Lisa addition lay between the river and Main street, and extended from Ashley street northward to Florida street. A mill was built at Florida street and the levee, afterwards known as the Union Steam Mill.[16]

William Smith was the managing man of the company, but he was unfortunately killed at the very beginning of the enterprise,—28 September, 1817. The mill was afterwards sold to Robert Cathcart and by him to J. and E. Walsh.

[16] An early writer in the press gave expression to the following:

"'The confidence with which Chouteau keeps himself poor, almost penniless, by investing in lands and never selling any, is matched by the composure of Manuel Lisa in risking all his profits of the fur trade in a water front merchant mill, an experiment yet untried.'"

First Four Mills in St. Louis, by William Freudenau, Globe-Democrat, 23 October, 1899.

Lisa was in St. Louis as late at 23 August, 1817, for on that day he and his wife Polly joined in a deed of conveyance to Smith and Bates of a portion of the land above mentioned. His journey up the river was doubtless begun shortly after that date, though no record of it is found. He was again in St. Louis about the middle of June, 1818.

The *Gazette* of 19 June has this notice of his return:—

"Manuel Lisa, Esq., arrived here a few days ago from his trading posts on the upper Missouri, with valuable cargoes of furs, peltry, etc., etc. This enterprising gentleman is anxious to again extend our Indian trade to and beyond the Rocky mountains. Previous to the late war his establishments extended to the Pacific side of the mountains, but his parties were obliged to return to the Missouri, leaving behind them an immense quantity of valuable furs, in consequence of the hostility of the black feet Indians.

We learn that the Indians who reside on the river Platte and between the rivers Missouri and Arkansas are (as usual) at war with one another. About two months ago a party of the Pawnees, consisting of four hundred met a war party of Osages in the plains within fifty or sixty miles of the Arkansas. The advance guard of the Pawnees made a running fight, drawing after them the Osages into an ambuscade formed by the main body of the Pawnees. The affair is said to have resulted in the entire defeat and destruction of the Osages; one only escaped out of forty-eight warriors. Our informant saw forty-seven guns taken from the Osages. The Pawnees are also at war with the Spaniards of Santa Fe—they lately defeated and killed seven Spaniards out of a hunting party they met within the limits of the United States territory. Among the baggage of the Spaniards they found concealed a Spanish boy about ten years old; him they spared intending to offer him as a sacrifice "to the Great Star". This boy has been recently purchased from the priests by Mr. Lisa, and providentially saved from the fire. This poor little victim was so impressed with

his intended fate that (a few nights ago) he sprang from his bed and called for Mr. Lisa to protect him from the Pawnees, who were coming to burn him; and when convinced that he was in a place of safety, he declared that his dreadful apprehensions could not be done away with until he had performed a promise he had made when at the Pawnee village, viz, that if the Almighty would release him, he would have a solemn mass performed for his deliverance. Mr. Lisa says he will if possible have him gratified. He is to be sent to school and educated for the counting house. Sometime ago this sanguinary band took a pado woman prisoner and devoted her to the sacrifice; as she was pregnant they waited her delivery before the offering should be made. However, as soon as she recovered from child-birth, she stole a horse and escaped. Her infant child was immediately transfixed on a sharp pole as an offering to the god."[17]

Lisa came home this year to a bereaved household. Mrs. Lisa had died during his absence, on 10 February, 1818.[18]

[17] An interesting story of the Pawnee sacrifice to the "Great Star," and of the rescue of Lisa's boy is given in 2 Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Thwaites' Edition), pp. 151-155. And see also John Treat Irving's *Indian Sketches*, and *Notice sur l'etat Actuel de la Mission de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1820, p. 48.

[18] The *Gazette* of Friday, 13 February, 1818, has this notice:

"Died: On Tuesday morning last, Mrs. Mary Lisa, late consort of Manuel Lisa, Esq., of this place."

The old Cathedral register contains the following:

"L'an mil huit cent dix huit le onze fevrier moi soussigné pretre de la Mission, Vicaire Général de la Diocese, j'ai inhumé dans le cimitiére de cette paroisse le corps de Eulalie Manuel Lisa morde le dix,

En foi de quoi j'ai signé,

Felix De Andreis, P. de la Mission Vicaire Général."

The entry is written with the blank space just as here printed.

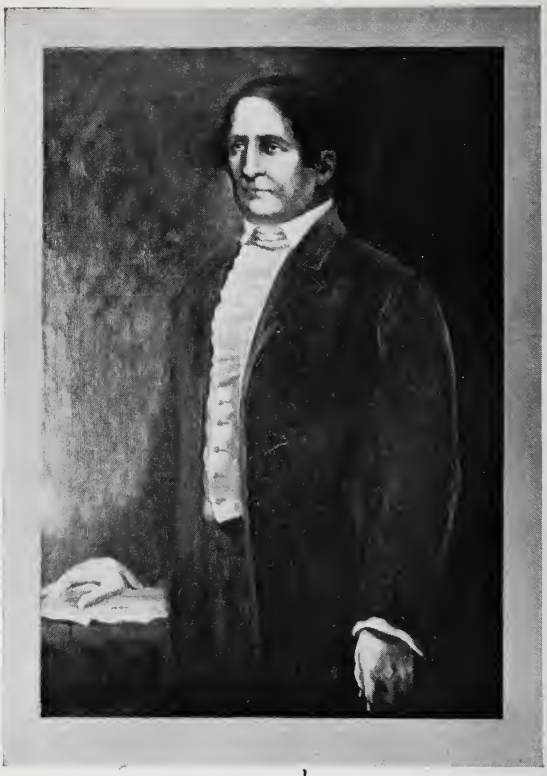
When the first part of this paper was written the date of Madame Lisa's death had not been ascertained. It was assumed that the entry in the register referred to a daughter of Manuel Lisa (See *Ante* p. 237). It seems to be the better opinion, however, that the person buried by Father De Andreis was Madame Lisa; that the name Eulalie is an error, and that there was no such person as

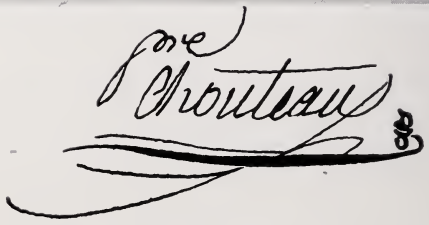
The records show that it was to her, in conjunction with Hyacinthe L'Eglis, that Lisa left the direction of his affairs during his long absences, and that she was a woman of ability. She seems to have had little education, for though at times she signs her name, frequently she is satisfied to sign with a cross mark only. While Lisa seems to have been to her a devoted husband, he was not slow in seeking consolation. His widowerhood lasted less than six months, and on 5 August, 1818, he married Mrs. Mary Hempstead Keeney, widow of John Keeney, and daughter of Stephen and Mary (Lewis) Hempstead.[19]

The list of witnesses who signed the record of the marriage is an interesting and significant one: The

Eulalie Lisa. The entry in the register was apparently made sometime after the burial; the word *onze* is written over figures which look like 18. And it may be further considered that Father De Andreis had at that time been a resident of St. Louis for a few weeks only; not long enough to become familiar with the names of the people.

[19] Mary Hempstead was born at New London, Connecticut, 25 October, 1782. Her family which was of English origin, was settled in New London as early as 1645, and was at all times a prominent one in the history of the Colony. She married 2 June, 1806, John Keeney, a sea captain, who died in 1810, leaving her with one son, Christopher. She removed with her parents and family to St. Louis in 1811. She never remarried after Lisa's death. Her son, was educated in medicine, and began practice at Liberty, Mo., but died 3 June, 1830, aged about twenty-three. Mrs. Lisa continued to live in St. Louis until 1851, at which time she removed to Galena, Illinois, and took charge of the household of her brother, William Hempstead. She died at Galena, 3 September, 1869, and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, by the side of her husband. She was a woman of the highest character, distinguished for great practical wisdom, and for many lovable qualities. Lisa is reported to have said that he never really understood what domestic happiness could be until after his marriage with her. After Lisa's death she was known by her family and friends as Aunt Manuel, and that name is engraved upon her tombstone. Her brother, Edward Hempstead, was one of the leading lawyers of St. Louis, and had been for several years prior to his death, in August, 1817, Lisa's constant adviser.





1758–1849

names are William Clark, Charles S. Hempstead (a brother of the bride), Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau. Though Lisa was a Spaniard and a Catholic, and his wife was English and trained in the strictest Puritanism, the marriage proved to be an ideally happy one.

The Fur Company was this year again reorganized. Major Thomas Biddle writing, 29 October, 1819, from the camp near Fort Lisa, to Col. Henry Atkinson, says:—

"The company consists of Messrs. Lisa, Pilcher, Perkins, Wood, Carson, Williams and Tenonee [Zanoni]. They bought out the company of 1817 and 1818 for $10,000, and bought about $7,000 worth of goods. They trade with the Ottoes, Missourias, Ioways, Mahas, Pawnees, Pianke Shaws and Sioux; their principal trading establishment is near this place."[20]

[20] 6 American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, p. 202, Major Biddle gives a list of the other persons engaged in the Indian trade from St. Louis, as follows: "Seres [Cerré, the name by which Gabriel Sylvestre Chouteau was usually called in his youth], and Francis Chouteau trade with the Kanzas and Osage Nations. They have a trading house not far from the mouth of the river Kanzas, and their capital is about $4,000.00. Legarc [Paul Liguest] Chouteau and brothers trade with the Osage and Kanzas Indians, near their village on the Osage river; their capital $6,000.00. The United States factory also trades with the Osages and Kanzas. This factory is at Fort Osage.

Roberdeau [Robidoux] and Pepin [Papin] in partnership with Chouteau and Butholl [Berthold] of St. Louis, trade with the Ottoes, Ioways, Missourias, Pawnees, Mahas, Piaukeshaws and Sioux. Their principal establishment is at Nashanotollona, capital, $12,000.00.

Pratt and Vasquer [Vasquez] trade with the same nations. Their principal establishment is near the Maha's village; capital, $7,000.00.

Broseau [Brazeau] and De Lorion trade occasionally with the Sioux and Arickaras; they do not trade this year; capital, $7,000.00."

Chouteau and Berthold were Major Pierre Chouteau and Bartholomew Berthold. Brazeau for many years, and perhaps always, traded in association with Lisa.

Billon gives the names of the members of the company somewhat differently.[21]

His list is, Manuel Lisa, president, Thomas Hempstead, Joshua Pilcher, Joseph Perkins, Andrew Woods, Moses B. Carson, John B. Zenoni, Andrew Dripps and Robert Jones.[22]

In Paxton's *St. Louis Directory,* 1821, it is said that the actual capital of the Missouri Fur Company invested in the trade is supposed to amount to about $70,000. And it is there further stated that it is estimated that the annual value of the Indian trade of St. Louis on the Missouri and Mississippi rivers is $600,000.

When Lisa went up the river in 1819 Mrs. Lisa kept him company. The United States government had sent out an exploring expedition under Major Stephen H. Long to make a scientific examination of the country beyond the Missouri. A cantonment had been established a half mile above Fort Lisa, and the presence of the officers and scientists gave the place an atmosphere quite different from that of the ordinary trading post. Dinner parties were given at the post

[21] Billon's Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821, p. 68.

[22] Thomas Hempstead was a brother of Mrs. Lisa. He did not continue long with the Fur Company, and is perhaps the same person whom Sage met in later years at Bent's fort, when he was known as Dr. Hempstead (*Scenes in the Rocky Mountains,* etc., by Rufus B. Sage). Joshua Pilcher succeeded Lisa as president of the Fur Company and succeeded Gov. Clark as Indian Agent. Woods and Zenoni are spoken of in Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains as leading trading expeditions to the various tribes. Jones was killed with Immel by the Arikaras in 1823. Dripps was for many years a prominent man in the fur trade. Carson was a kinsman of the famous Kit Carson. Williams has not been identified. The name suggests the Central Missouri family which produced Ezekiel and "Old Bill," both famous in Rocky Mountain history. Perkins had been associated with Dripps in some business transactions in St. Louis, but nothing further is known of him, except that he is mentioned as coming down the river with furs in 1823.

and at the cantonment. The *menu* of one of the cantonment dinners is given in the *Account* of the expedition. The writer says:—

"Mr. Lisa and family dined with us by invitation. That we have sometimes food in great sufficiency, the provision upon our table this day will sufficiently attest. It consisted of the entire bison hump, above mentioned, the rump of a bison roasted, boiled bison meat, two boiled bison tongues, the spinous processes roasted in the manner of spare ribs, sausages made of minced tenderloin and fat, etc. It is true that we have no vegetables whatever, but having been so long estranged from them, we scarcely regret their absence. Their place is supplied by excellent wheat flour, of which our cook prepares us bread fully equal in point of excellence, to any that we have ever eaten. The above repast was prepared for eleven persons, two of whom were ladies. The collation was succeeded by coffee as a dessert."[23]

The mention of two ladies shows that Mrs. Lisa must have taken with her some friend for a companion. Who it was has not been learned.[24]

The presence of Mrs. Lisa at the fort was the cause of serious embarrassment to her husband. Her puritan training was at odds with any marital irregularities. The writer of the Account of Long's Expedition gives in minute detail the dealings of Lisa with Mitain. The detail is so minute, indeed, as to persuade the reader that the purpose was to make an interesting story, rather than a statement of facts. The story is that previous to his arrival at the fort, Lisa sent a messenger ahead with instructions that Mitain should be sent to the village of her people, which was

[23] 1 Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, p. 280.

[24] Dr. Thwaites suggests that these were probably the first white women to ascend the Missouri to this point. They were probably the first American women in Nebraska, but Madame Lajoie, who lived in St. Louis for sixty years and died here in 1830, was in the Nebraska country prior to 1770.

sixty or seventy miles inland. The instructions were obeyed, but in a short time she returned with her little boy. Lisa made her bountiful gifts, and told her that their relations were at an end, and asked for the boy that he might have him brought up and educated among the whites, as he had promised her people at the time he took her for his squaw that he would do with any children that might be born. She begged to be allowed to go where she might be near the child and sometimes see him. She refused to leave the boy, and Major O'Fallon finally interfered and prevented Lisa from taking him. This story of her devotion to the child is told by the same writer:—

"One day, in company with six other squaws, she was engaged in her agricultural labors, her infant boy being secured to his cradle-like board, which she had carefully reclined against a tree at a short distance. They were discovered by a war-party of Sioux, who rushed towards them, with the expectation of gratifying their vengeance by securing all their scalps. An exclamation from her companions directed her attention to the common enemy, and in her fright she fled precipitately, but suddenly recollecting her child, she swiftly returned full in the face of the Sioux, snatched her child from the tree, and turned to save its life more precious than her own. She was closely pursued by one of the enemy, when she arrived at a fence which separated her from the field of the trading house. A moment's hesitation here would have been fatal; and, exerting all her strength, she threw the child, with its board, as far as she could on the opposite side.

Four of the squaws were tomahawked, and the others escaped, of which number the mother was one, having succeeded in bearing off her child uninjured."[25]

[25] In the story of Lisa's relations with Mitain, he is spoken of as "a trader," and his name is nowhere mentioned. The story was reprinted in the newspapers; among others in the Missouri Intelligencer, but always without naming Lisa, though it was first printed some years after his death.

MRS. LISA'S HOUSE, 2D AND MYRTLE.

Lisa returned to St. Louis early in April, 1820, but no mention of his return is to be found in the newspapers.[26]

The most careful search brings to light no information as to his occupations during this summer. We know only that he was

> doomed to hear
> (His work untrimmed) the sunset gun too soon.

He died on Saturday, 12 August, 1820.

His death occurred at the home of Henry Gratiot, whose wife was Susan Hempstead, a sister of Mrs. Lisa. Gratiot's house, a two-story log house built after the French manner, was situated near the Sulphur Spring, in what is now the Cheltenham district in the southwestern part of St. Louis.

He was buried the next day in the old burying ground at Second and Walnut streets.[27] Later when that place was abandoned as a graveyard, his remains were removed to the private burying ground of the Hempstead family, which was afterwards included in Bellefontaine Cemetery. There they now rest.

[26] There is a gap in the files of the *Gazette* covering this period. A newspaper, *The Enquirer*, had been started in opposition, the files of which for 1820, are in the library of the Missouri Historical Society, but nothing is said therein of Lisa's return.

[27] The record of his burial, in the old Cathedral register, is as follows:

"Le 13 aout 1820, je soussigné ai inhume dans le cimitiere de cette paroisse le corps de Emanuel Lisa, age de 48 aus. P. Boegna, prêtre de la Cong."

Lisa's home at the time of his death was on the east side of Main Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets. He bought that property from Jean Baptiste Trudeau in 1810. It had then upon it a stone dwelling house. About 1813 Lisa erected a large brick house, having shops on the ground floor, with a place of residence above. He must have made his home there upon the completion of the new building, for on 19 February, 1814, he sold his old home at Second and Spruce Streets to Captain Theodore Hunt for $4,000.

Later Mrs. Lisa removed to a house situated upon a lot long owned by her late husband at the northeast corner of Third and Spruce Streets, numbered 77 Spruce Street, a picture of which is given herewith. She was living there at the date of her removal to Galena.

On the day before his death Lisa made his will. This document manifests too strongly the character of the man to allow its omission. It is as follows:—

I, Manuel Lisa, of St. Louis, Missouri, desiring that after my death no difficulties nor jealousies may arise in the distribution and settlement of my estate, have and do hereby make and ordain this as my last will and testament, to-wit:

First. It is my earnest wish and first desire that all my just debts be settled and paid as soon as practicable, and that difficulties may be avoided in such settlement I hereby empower my executors to agree to and abide by amicable arbitrations when my said executors may deem it proper.

Second. It is my wish that the part I now have in the Missouri Fur Company shall be and continue, as long as the articles of association will permit, in my proper representatives; and for that purpose, if necessary, my executors may employ proper persons to act in my place. And inasmuch as I have consented to execute a mortgage on my property in St. Louis to secure a debt due Messrs. Stone, Bostwick & Co., for goods purchased for the said Missouri Fur Company, if necessary, I hereby authorize and empower my said executors to execute such mortgage according to the terms and for the period agreed on between Mr. Bostwick and myself; and, lastly, I hereby empower my executors to carry into effect the aforesaid articles of association in as full and ample manner as I could do if living.

Third. My executors are strictly enjoined to educate in a proper manner my son, Manuel and Christopher H. Keeney, the son of my wife, also to have raised and educated my two natural children, viz: Rosalie now here, and Christopher up the Missouri river; to which said two children, last named, I give, bequeath and devise the sum of two thousand dollars each, on their respectively arriving at the age of twenty-one, or the marriage of said Rosalie, if before her attaining that age.

Fourth. To my godson, Manuel Lisa, son of Joachim Lisa, my brother, of New Orleans, on his arriving at the age of twenty-one years, I bequeath

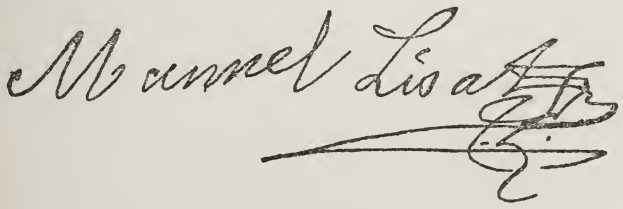
and devise the undivided moiety or half of a concession of six thousand arpens of land originally granted to, and acquired by me from, said Joachim Lisa.

Fifth. All the rest and residue of my estate of whatever nature it may be I do hereby give and devise unto my beloved wife Mary; all my slaves and personal estate she is to enjoy for and during her natural life (except as hereinafter mentioned) and at her decease my said slaves, etc., are to be equally divided between my son, Manuel, and Christopher H. Keeney when they shall respectively attain the age of twenty-one years; but if they or either of them die before attaining such age, then their respective parts and proportions to which they might have been entitled shall go to and be enjoyed by my said wife and her heirs and assigns forever if she should be then living; if, however, she should not then be living the respective parts and proportions of said Christopher H. Keeney and my son, Manuel, shall descend to and be equally divided according to law between my blood relations in New Orleans and elsewhere.

Sixth. In case my said wife, Mary, shall marry again then it is my will that she shall only take, have and enjoy her rights of dower as widow according to the laws.

Lastly. For the execution of the aforesaid will I do hereby nominate and appoint my wife, Mary, as executrix, and Charles S. Hempstead, my brother-in-law, as executor thereof, and do also nominate and appoint them guardians to the several minor children herein named; hereby revoking and annulling all other wills and codicils.

In Testimony Whereof, I, the said Manuel Lisa, have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal at St. Louis County, this eleventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty."



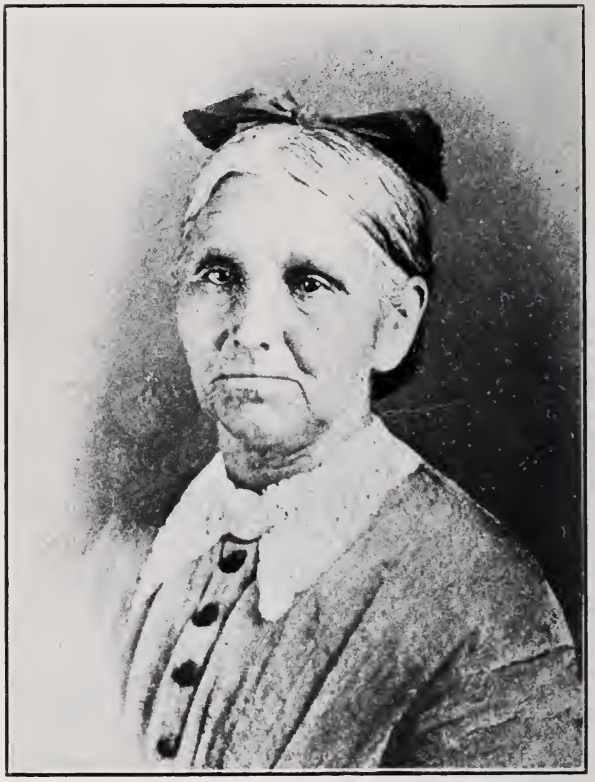
The signature is followed by a wax seal bearing the letters M. L. in script. The witnesses to the will were Theodore Hunt and Elijah Beebe. The instrument is in the handwriting of Charles S. Hempstead, a brother of Mrs. Lisa.

Most of the papers pertaining to the administration of Lisa's estate are missing, and it is impossible to learn its value. When the final settlement was made in 1829, the Court found that the executor and executrix had paid out $1,361.80 2-3 more than they had received.[28] But there is nothing to indicate that any of his real estate had been sold. That the estate was solvent is clear, but the amount of surplus is uncertain. The records show many sales of property by Mrs. Lisa, and she was apparently left very well to do for that time.

Had Lisa lived a few years longer he doubtless would have been the possessor of great wealth. His faith in the future results of his past labors is shown by the language of his will. His death came just at the time when harvest was ripe for the hand of the reaper. A writer in the St. Louis *Enquirer* says [August, 1822]:—

"Since the abolition of the United States factories, a great activity has prevailed in the operation of this [the fur] trade. Those formerly engaged in it have increased their capital and extended their enterprises; new firms have engaged in it and others are preparing to do so. It is computed that a thousand men, chiefly from this place, are now employed in this trade on the waters of the Missouri, and half that number on the upper Mississippi. The Missouri Fur Company, which alone employs upwards of 300 men, has reached the mountains and will soon be on the Columbia river. Others have the same destination, so that the rich furs of that region will soon cease to be the exclusive property of the Hudson Bay Company."

[28] Record Book C, St. Louis Probate Court, pp. 61, 141.



ROSALIE LISA ELY.

Lisa was unfortunate in leaving no son to guard "his sire's renown." His son, Raymond, probably his first born, died in July, 1811, before he had reached the age of six years. His son, Manuel, who was born 14 October, 1809, died 29 June, 1826. Of the fate of his son, "Christopher, up the Missouri River," nothing has been learned. We have one glimpse of him, in May, 1833, then he disappears forever.

We read in the Travels of Prince Maximilian:—

"On the same bank we suddenly saw three Omaha Indians, who crept slowly along. They were clothed in buffalo robes, and had bows with quivers made of skins on their backs. About the nose and eyes they were painted white. Among these Indians there was a woman who had been severely wounded; namely, the well known Mitain, who is spoken of in Major Long's 'Travels to the Rocky Mountains,' as an interesting instance of maternal affection, but without mentioning her name. She and her child had received many severe wounds, but were so fortunate as not to be scalped."[29]

The daughter, Rosalie, was placed by her father with the family of Mr. Joseph Wells at Gravois, and later at the convent of the Sacred Heart at Florissant. After her father's death she lived for a time with Mrs. Lisa, and afterwards made her home with Mrs. E. W. Collins, of Collinsville, Illinois. She married 13 February, 1842, Madison Ely, a farmer and a pioneer Baptist preacher. They had eight children, three sons and five daughters. Her husband died in 1864. She proved equal to the duties imposed upon her, and succeeded in maintaining and bringing up her children to be respected citizens of the community. She died at Trenton, Illinois, where she had lived for forty years, 22 December, 1904. Four of her daughters,

[29] 1 *Travels in the Interior of North America*, by Maximilian, Prince of Wied (Thwaites' Ed.), p. 268.

ten grandsons, eight grand-daughters and twelve great grand-children survived her.

Lisa's death was a great loss to St. Louis. For twenty years he had been one of the most active of her citizens, and year by year he had grown in importance until he was second to none. Those twenty years were years of unceasing conflict. The forces of nature and of man were combined against him. Col. Chittenden estimates that he must have travelled twenty-six thousand miles at least on the Missouri river. This does not include his journeys on the lower river, miscalled the Mississippi, or on the Ohio, Wabash and Osage. No one who does not know the Missouri River,

"This surging, sounding majesty of troubled water,"

can imagine the difficulties of its navigation in Lisa's day. Rowing, cordelling, sailing, warping, poling, and grappling around obstructions, all were in almost daily need. And the keenest watchfulness was always required. Gen. James tells of Lisa lolling in the cabin over cards and wine, but others tell a different story. Brackenridge says:—

"Great exertions are made by Mr. Lisa; he is at one moment at the helm, at another with the grappling iron at the bow, and often with a pole assisting the hands in impelling the barge through the rapid current. The superiority of minds is seen in the smallest incident; on these occasions when the difficulties appeared to the rest insurmountable, the presence of this man, his voice, his orders and cheering exclamations, infused new energy, and another effort was crowned with success."

"On one occasion while passing a difficult and dangerous rapid, Lisa, who was at the head of the boat with a grappling hook, fell overboard and narrowly escaped being drowned."[30]

[30] Brackenridge's *Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri*, 2d Edition. Baltimore, 1816, pp. 27, 105.

But it was not to his great physical strength and powers of endurance that Lisa trusted.

"I believe," says Brackenridge, "there are few persons so completely master of the secret of doing much in a short space of time; which does not consist so much in any great exertion, as in the strict observance of that economy which requires every moment to be turned to advantage."

"The unwearied exertions of Lisa suffered no moment to remain unemployed, and his ingenuity was continually exerted in contriving means of overcoming the difficulties which were continually presenting themselves."[31]

Yet in his chase after Hunt, when every moment was precious, he stopped his expedition for an hour to extricate an ox which he saw mired near the shore.

When the constant severity of their labors wore out the courage of his men, "Lisa himself seized the helm and gave the song, and at the close of every stanza, made the woods ring with his shouts of encouragement. The whole was intermixed with short and pithy addresses to their fears, their hopes, or their ambition."

On another occasion, having heard from Mr. Benoist, whom they met on the river, the most unfavorable news:—

"A gloom overspread every countenance except that of Lisa, who seized the helm, made an encouraging speech, sent around the grog, and then raised the song."

By these methods he not only overcame the difficulties of navigation, but endeared himself to his men as well. How thoroughly he won their confidence and regard is shown by the fact that notwithstanding the great hardships and dangers of the service they remained with him year after year. From the highest

[31] Brackenridge *Journal*, 2d Edition, pp. 6, 47.

to the lowest it was the same. Immel,[32] for instance, who became his lieutenant, went up with the first expedition of the Fur Company, and remained in his service so long as Lisa lived. And in the lists of *engages,* which have been preserved, the same names regularly re-appear.

When Lisa first went up the river many of the natives were openly hostile to the whites, and none were safely to be trusted. The first expedition of the Fur Company suffered so greatly from their attacks that Governor Clark wrote it down as a failure. But as soon as Lisa took command the troubles subsided; so long as he lived friendly relations between the whites and the Indians were generally maintained. After his death, hostilities broke out with redoubled fury. Lisa seems to have gained the confidence and friendship of the Arikaras very quickly, for Brackenridge tells of the apprehensions of Wilson Price

[32] Of Immel little is known. The *Historical Register of the U. S. Army* gives his military record as follows:

"Michael E. Immel, Pa., ensign, 1st infantry, 10 June, 1807; second lieutenant, 14 October, 1808; resigned 30 November, 1808."

There is reason for believing that the *Pa.* in the register is erroneous, and that it should be *La.*, as it is stated in the American State Papers that Michael Immel had a grant of land at Opelousas. Immel appears to have been at St. Louis as early as May, 1804, and as a portion of the First Infantry was at Fort Bellefontaine (St. Louis County) in 1806, he probably joined the army at that place. The order book of Fort Bellefontaine in possession of the Missouri Historical Society makes frequent reference to him. In 1808, he was for a short time in command of the handful of men who garrisoned the fort at St. Louis. He went up the Missouri with the first expedition of the Fur Company in 1809; went with Major Henry to the Columbia River; and remained with the Fur Company and its successors until his death. He was sent with a party of men, in the summer of 1822, to endeavor to open trade with the Blackfeet Indians, but was attacked by them on 31 May, 1823. Immel, Jones (mentioned above) and five of their men were killed. Col. Charles Keemle, for many years afterward a resident of St. Louis, led the remainder of the party to safety. 1 Chittenden's *American Fur Trade,* p.151; 6 Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, p.

Hunt and his party "that Lisa, finding himself among a people who were perfectly at his disposal, might betray them."[33]

And we have seen how, at a later time, he controlled those whom, in 1808, he called "the dangerous nation of the Sioux."

How he succeeded in gaining and maintaining such an influence he tells in his letter to Governor Clark printed above. He went among the Indians as a benefactor and not as a pillager; he treated them as friends and labored to win their esteem.

Among his associates and rivals in the fur trade Lisa had no such success in winning confidence and friendship. Brackenridge tells us that, "unfortunately, however, from what cause I know not, the majority of the members of the company have not the confidence in Mr. Lisa which he so justly merits."[34]

When we recall the action of this majority, in Lisa's absence, in 1813, we may well believe that this lack of confidence was mutual. But it is not surprising that Lisa should have been distrusted and feared by the people to whom Brackenridge refers. St. Louis at the time when Lisa became a citizen was a very different town from that which it became a few years later, after the inrush of Americans. In 1799 it was a French town. Though the government was Spanish, the governors for a number of years before the transfer to the United States were Frenchmen. The few Spaniards among its inhabitants were old residents; a large proportion of them had intermarried with the French, and all had their recognized places in the settled course of life in the village. The Chouteaus, Auguste and Pierre, by their ability, by the prestige

[33] Brackenridge, *Journal*, 2d Edition, p. 113.

[34] Brackenridge, *Journal*, 2d Ed., p. 6. And see letter of Bartholomew Berthold printed in Chittenden's American Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 131.

which had descended to them from Laclede, by their extensive family connection and following, had acquired a dominating influence in the village and in the fur trade.

Lisa came as a stranger and a foreigner. Any influence and support which he had at New Orleans was of little avail at St. Louis. And personally he was a disturber and a revolutionary. He was not a man to whom a place could be assigned; he would make a place for himself. He was a leader, not a follower. His success in obtaining the grant of the Osage trade, so long the property of the Chouteaus, convinced them and their associates that he was not only an interloping upstart, but a dangerous person as well. While Lisa was conciliatory with the Indians and with his employees, he was not so with others. He was impatient with opposition, and of a fiery temper. His sarcasm was acrid, and he was quick to strike with hand or weapon. His unusual qualities of mind, his great breath of view, his keen and accurate foresight, and his mastery of detail, made him sufficient unto himself and intolerant of any divided authority. His confidence in his own powers was absolute. His boldness and physical courage quailed before no obstacle. Compromise was not a thing to be considered.

Popularity could not come quickly to such a man. Had his life been prolonged until old age had cooled his blood he might have compelled it. He would never seek it. But the dislike, distrust and enmity which were inevitable to one of his disposition in the situation in which he lived, were not to be easily or quickly overcome.

There was no malice in Lisa's make-up. Unlike another well known Missourian, he did not "love to lie awake at night and hate his enemies." When his anger subsided no bitterness remained. To witness

his marriage, he sought not only his constant friend, Captain Theodore Hunt, but also his ancient, and it might almost be said, constant rival, Pierre Chouteau.

Lisa's chief defects may, perhaps, be attributable to the want of proper training in his youth. Nothing is known of his schooling except that it was necessarily of short duration. Had it been more thorough it might have taught him a patience which would have obviated many of his difficulties. However short his schooling he cannot be said to have been an uneducated man. He had a good knowledge of Spanish, his mother tongue, and what might be called "a working knowledge" of French and English. Growing up as he did in Louisiana he must have spoken French from his childhood, though he never learned to write it with accuracy. His first wife was of English blood and probably had no other language. In James's story of the expedition of 1809, it appears that Lisa spoke English to his men. Brackenridge says that he was passionately fond of reading Don Quixote, and in the inventory of his estate, besides his set of Don Quixote in five volumes, "twenty-seven volumes of Spanish and French books" are mentioned, and, in addition, a number of text books and dictionaries in English and French, "all old."[35]

It has generally been assumed that the distrust of Lisa had a more substantial basis than what has been stated. But no evidence has come down to us in support of the specific charges of misconduct made against him. The accusations of Prior and Crooks and Mc-

[35] It has been stated that the difficulty which Lisa and his second wife had in communicating with each other for want of a common language was a source of much mirth in the family. But this story is evidently unfounded. There is no question but that Lisa could speak English, and little doubt but that his wife could speak French. A woman of her intelligence, in constant association with the French people of St. Louis for seven years, would not likely have failed to learn their language.

Clellan that Lisa had betrayed them to the Indians appear to be founded in imagination. McClellan's claim that Lisa had failed to furnish him goods of the quality contracted for, was decided in Lisa's favor by the court. Lisa was litigious, but an examination of the numerous cases to which he was a party (generally as plaintiff) fails to disclose any matter to his discredit. So far as can be learned at this day his conduct measured fully up to the moral standard of that time. The death of Antoine Bissonet as the result of Lisa's order to Drouillard to bring him in dead or alive, has been charged as a crime against Lisa; but in that matter he but followed a precedent set by Governor Clark, who sent the same Drouillard after a deserter with the order that if he did not give up peaceably to put him to death.[36] The dangers of a voyage on the river at that day made the desertion of an *engage* equivalent to that of a soldier in the face of the enemy.

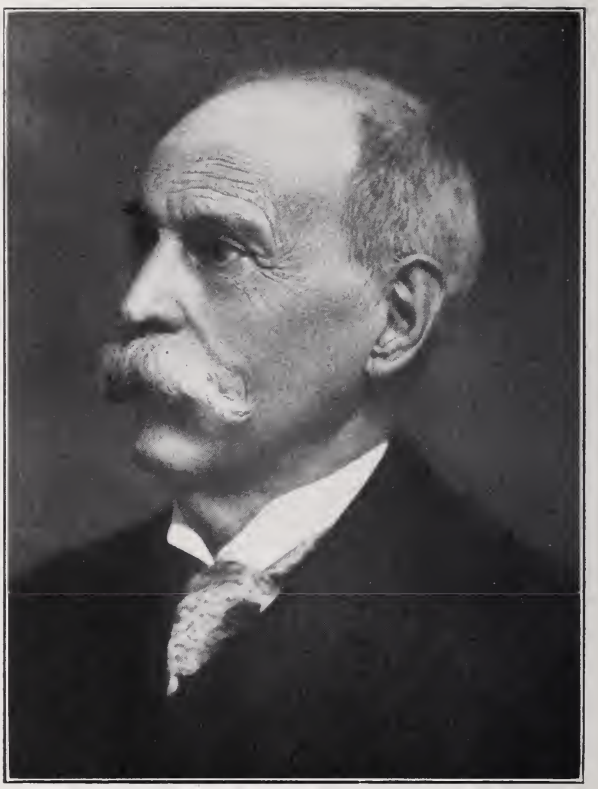
Lisa's character has been summed up by a competent and impartial judge in the following words:—

"About this period there was in St. Louis a trader who was second to none in the fur-trading annals of America, and, strange as it may appear, this gentleman was a Spaniard by birth, who for enterprise and energy was not surpassed by the hardy Scot of the north. This interesting individual was Manuel Lisa. He was upright, honest, a man of sterling worth, a competent judge of men and character, and undoubtedly the best equipped man in every way, engaged in the trade on the Missouri at this time."[37]

When Missouri comes to make up the calendar of those of her neglected sons who have earned the right to honored remembrance, the name of Manuel Lisa will stand high advanced upon the roll.

[36] 1 *Original Journals of Lewis & Clark*, 102.

[37] Dr. W. F. Wagner in introduction to *Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Furtrader and Trapper*, 1831-1836, p. 21.



Wm. Clark Kennedy

EARLY DAYS IN ST. LOUIS FROM THE MEMOIRS OF AN OLD CITIZEN.

Major William Clark Kennerly.

Edited by his daughter, Mrs. Daniel R. Russell.

After these many years, when well on my way down the far side of life's "great divide," I have yielded to the persuasion of friends and family to write down the trivial adventures met with in a long life, begun amid the stirring days of the early twenties, and ending after the four hard fought years of the Civil War, when all concerned were surfeited with bloodshed and ready to return to home and fireside. I will pass over that period, forbearing to attack a subject which has been so well exploited by able authors, and if events written of by so insignificant a person, can hold aught of interest for my children and grandchildren, I beg of them not to look upon these pages from a literary standpoint, but rather as a labor of love, the perusal of which may fill some quiet hour stolen from the busy life of future generations.

I will begin with my birth, which, after all is the most important event of a man's life, when he comes forth armed with health and strength to battle with the world, or lacking these, to gradually succumb to its buffetings, after fighting for his just right to mere existence. I was born at Fort Council Bluffs, then in Missouri Territory, 2 November, 1824, just two years before the fort was abandoned and the troops, commanded by General Leavenworth, transported by keel boat, to a point twelve miles below St. Louis, where they went into camp until the building of Jefferson Barracks on the same site. I have told of the five years spent there, and of my friendship for old Black-

hawk, so I will pass that by and proceed to the school days.

They were spent in the city with my uncle General William Clark, first territorial governor of Missouri, where I, with his son, Jefferson, attended school at the St. Louis University on 9th street and Washington Avenue, then so far in the country that we were obliged to ride back and forth each day on our ponies.

I liked being in town, for with youth's golden glow of enthusiasm the little frontier village seemed a very metropolis, its novel distractions appealing to my boyish fancy.

Bands of gaily dressed Indians were constantly coming to see the great "red-headed father," General Clark, while *coureurs de bois* occasionally brought news of depredations by their less peaceful brothers. The braves arriving with their squaws and families, painted and arrayed in the most approved savage fashion of undress, were received with much dignity by the General in his council chamber, which was also his museum.

This museum was a large room filled with all sorts of Indian curiosities, canoes, arms, coats of mail, shields, beds, clothes, ornaments of every kind, cooking utensils, pipes, and knives, dishes, agricultural and musical instruments, head-gear, snow shoes, infant's clothing and cradles. It is to be regretted that this collection was not preserved to St. Louis, but about the year 1832 it was borrowed to swell that of a German named Koch, who several years before had arrived in the City with the skeleton of a mastodon and some other curios, opening a museum on Market street near Fourth.

After exhibiting there for a year or more, this "promoter" of his own interests, at least, disappeared between two days with all of the General's collection. It seems strange that no effort was ever made to pur-

sue him and recover them, but, owing to the difficulty of travel, and the fact that Sherlock Holmes' ancestors did not hail from this locality, it was considered hopeless and the said curios now repose in some German museum.

When there were too many of the red brethren for comfort in the council chamber the pow-wows were held on a tract of land owned by my father, James Kennerly, north of the Natural Bridge Road, between Union and Goodfellow avenues, called "Marais Castor" (Beaver Pond) on account of two lakes on the property, which made it an ideal camping ground.[1] There I often went with my parent, who, when the General grew older, acted for a time, as his secretary, transacting much of his business with the Indians.

It was our—Jeff. Clark's and mine—delight to accompany John and William Radford on their hunts for duck and snipe in the locality of Fourth and Pine streets, where now stands a modern hostelry, feeling our own importance in being allowed to pick up the birds. These two young men were step-sons of General Clark, the latter entering the Navy where he rose to the rank of Admiral.

Among our earliest recollections were visits to the confectioner where many of our picayunes were spent. The little town boasted several of these establishments, but the one kept by our good friend, Mons. Massot, was the most popular, for, on looking into his showcase on a school holiday we were almost sure to see a little cake with our respective names done in icing upon it, which subtile flattery invariably tempted the small coins from our pockets.

[1]It was here, in October, 1832, that Governor Clark, Frank J. Allen and Nathan Kouns, as "Commissioners on the part of the United States," made the treaties of "Castor Hill" with the Kickapoos, the Shawnees and Delawares, late of Cape Girdardeau, the Kaskaskias and Peorias, and the Piankeshaws and Weas. 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 391, 397, 403 and 410. Houck's History of Missouri, p.

On the road to Jefferson Barracks well out of town on Second street stood the old "Green Tree Tavern", its sign board swinging in the breeze, where thirsty officers were wont to stop for their first toddy, mint julep, or whatever drink was the equivalent for a high ball in 1830. When they tarried too long at this Temple of Bacchus, there were apt to be collisions with the old French natives of Vide Poche (empty pocket), who coming to town with their tiny loads of cord wood preferred returning home *with* an empty pocket to selling their loads for seventy-five cents when they were asking *"six bits"*.

I frequently went to the theater in these days, with the General's clerk who would smuggle me in under his long cape. Jeff declined to accompany us, being afraid of detection, but I was ever willing to take a chance in the cause of adventure, and enjoyed these little escapades much more than when having my seat paid for in the regular way.

The theater belonged to Ludlow & Sol Smith, who took the leading part in such plays as "The Gambler's Fate" and the "Lady of Lyons". It was on Second street, near Vine, and had formerly been an old salt warehouse, so it was rather crude, except for the scenery which they had brought from New Orleans, and which seemed to me quite as beautiful as the plausible Claude Melnotte described it.

At this time we had our first lessons in fencing, from Rooskooski, a Pole, who filled the position of valet to General Clark after the death of his faithful Yorke. He had been in the army of his own country and was an expert swordsman, though we were almost too young to profit by his teaching and could only admire his lightning passes with broad sword and foil. He also taught us to shoot with a tiny shotgun my father had made for me, at the U. S. Arsenal, on one of his trips by keel boat to the Quaker City. Both of these

sports had great interest for us, having heard wonderful tales of the prowess of my uncle, George Kennerly, with pistol and sword in his duels, before our day.

Numerous were the trips he had made to "Bloody Island", that small strip of land near the Illinois shore then utilized for the settlement of all affairs of honor. Captain George was a great duelist and unerring shot. On one occasion, when engaged with an attorney, Judge Geyer, his pistol flashing in the pan, allowed his antagonist to wound him in the knee. My uncle's reply when Geyer sent a friend to make his peace was characteristic. "Tell him," he said, "that I shall wait and see if this wound causes me to be lame for life, in which case, I shall ask another shot". No such disastrous result occurred, however, he retaining his magnificent physique, and a warm friendship existed between them to the end.

It was fortunate for the State that affairs turned out thus, for, Henry S. Geyer was spared to the community to win honors as lawyer, soldier, and statesman. Owing to his wisdom Missouri came into a code far in advance of other commonwealths and later, in 1850, President Filmore offered him the position of Secretary of War. Declining this, the same year saw him in the United States Senate, having gained his election by five votes over Thomas H. Benton, who had represented the people for thirty consecutive years.

My father had now severed his connection with the army, purchasing a home some distance out, and while holding several official positions in the town, being at one time a trustee, was not prevented from leading the life of a country gentleman, as his forefathers had done, in Virginia and Old England for many generations before him. It was here in our new home *Cote Plaquemine,* that Jeff and I went to live and here our training in out-door sports was continued. Our leisure hours were spent in shooting, riding, and coon

hunting with the darkies, the latter of whom there were quite a number. One "old Congo", a unique specimen, who claiming to be no less than a king in his far away Africa, considered it beneath his dignity to work, so, lay all day in the sun. His knowledge of English was limited, and he stammered dreadfully, always prefacing his remarks by saying "nig", "nig", "nig" before he could utter a word. I fear he was many a time rudely awakened from his slumber by our pranks, when he omitted that formality, expressing himself most volubly in his own tongue.

I recall one day when quite a little lad, after one of these occasions, being called to the house. I at first feared a reprimand, but instead was told to ride into town and escort my Uncle Clark, who was coming out to spend several days with us.

As we started gaily from his door the General on one of his carriage horses and I on my father's riding horse, some one suggested that we change nags as the General was just recovered from a spell of illness, and my horse had much the easir gait. My new mount considered me no more than a fly upon his back, and on reaching his pasture decided to stop and take some refreshment. When I remonstrated he bolted, throwing me off and dragging me until I was picked up unconscious and taken to the home of Dr. Farrar, our family physician and dear friend, where I hovered between life and death for many weeks, my mother having come in to nurse me. After recovering, though still on crutches, I was taken to the old Catholic church on Second street and baptized, General Clark, whose name I bore, standing sponsor for me.

In the year 1837 Daniel Webster made a memorable visit to St. Louis. Great excitement prevailed when it became known that he was expected, and on the day of his arrival thousands of people gathered at the Market street landing to welcome the "expounder of

the Constitution''. His entrance to the City being made by boat was compared by the old residents to that of General Lafayette twelve years before.

Mr. Webster was conducted by a committee, among whom were Wm. Carr Lane, James Clemens, Jr., and James Russell, to the old National Hotel, thence to a beautiful grove belonging to Judge J. B. C. Lucas, where a barbecue was held in his honor. People had gathered for miles around to listen to the great statesman, but we children secured front seats and while the words flowed from his lips in one of his epoch making speeches his hand rested caressingly on my proud head. His visit was widely chronicled in the *Missouri Republican* of that day, thus reaching those who found it impossible to leave their far distant homes.

Our education had been carried on by a tutor since coming to the country, but it was now decided that we should be sent off to school, our parents' choice being a college called the ''Barrens'', situated directly across from the little French town of Kaskaskia, since washed away by the mighty current of the Mississippi. It was kept by the Jesuit Fathers and attended by boys from many States, as well as from Cuba. The discipline was not very rigid, as we were allowed to smoke at any and all times, the smoke from the black cigars which we bought just outside the grounds being so thick that one could scarcely see across the room.

It was little of books that we learned here from the good priests, but much of nature and kindly companionship combined with a certain manliness, which was to stand us in good stead, when battling with the rough frontier life of earlier days. The brothers being so congenial made frequent trips with us to all places of note in the vicinity and we were greatly interested in visiting a wonderful cave with many subterranean vaults and chasms where could be heard the roaring

of water, no doubt an underground river of which the darkness prevented our ever finding the source. The cave was infested by thousand of bats which we would sometimes catch carrying them in a bag and turning them loose in the dormitory on the arrival of a new boy, thus giving him a little excitement and causing him to forget his homesickness. To Colonel Menard, of Kaskaskia, before that time Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, we were indebted for many good times; our Christmas and Easter Holidays being spent at his hospitable mansion. There with his grandchildren we enjoyed all the sports incident to the season, appreciating the warm welcome extended us, as well as the good things of the table which were in strong contrast to the frugal fare of the college.

After several years at The Barrens we were called to St. Louis by the death of General Clark in the year 1838.

The sad tidings of his death caused our first sorrow, and I shall never forget the grief I experienced in thinking that the kindly hand which had not only blazed pathways of glory through an undiscovered country, but had smoothed the rough places in friendship's highway for white man and red, should never again hold mine in its tender clasp. I gathered together all the kind letters he had written me telling beside the family news, the doings of my pets in the country; how my old dog Don had run to meet him with joyous barking and how my tame bear that some old trapper had brought me from the mountains, had got into the peach orchard breaking down all the branches. Just such letters as a boy away from home would love to receive. Ah! well, it was all over now. I tied the letters together again with the little piece of buckskin and dropped them into my travelling box, which early next morning was put on the boat, arriving at its destination in due season, followed by two

miserable youths just in time to assist in the last sad rites.

The funeral was a large military one and very imposing. Several companies of soldiers escorting the remains from the family residence on Broadway and Olive street out to the home of Colonel O'Fallon on the Bellefontaine Road, where they were placed in the family vault until the opening of Bellefontaine Cemetery many years later. The funeral was a pageant for those days, the people lining the streets for blocks, especially on nearing the tomb where the last salute was fired over the body of the man who had done his full share in making the history of his time, and who will be more and more appreciated with each succeeding generation.

After the death of his father, Jeff was sent by his older brothers to a college in the East, and as my mother was loath to part with me I was sent a day scholar to Kemper College; so we began our first separation for any length of time.

My first trip was taken a little later when to break up a case of persistent chills, I was sent to New Orleans just for the trip of the boat which occupied about a month, as she lay for two weeks in that city loading with sugar and cotton. River travel was then at its height and the most important industry of the time. The captain was a little Czar in his own line, and frequently a society leader when on *terra firma,* as well as the biggest fish in the river puddle. We lived as delightfully as at the best hotel, and I was most impressed and amused by the costumes of the boat's officers who were the "mirrors of fashion". The trousers worn by the Pilot were considered especially appropriate as they represented his calling to the extent of having a picture of the Mississippi River woven in the cloth and running from belt to hem; with every detail of scenery, wooded bank, city and

landing, between St. Louis and New Orleans. These patterns were manufactured for the trade, which was an important factor in the commerce of the day.

The first clerk, under whose care I had been placed, was extremely kind, taking me with him to visit all points of interest in the city. We went everywhere from the French opera to the French market where one was sure of getting a cup of good coffee from the old quadroons with large gold earrings and gay bandana. I had much to tell on returning, with all the malaria out of my system and a system of new ideas in my head.

Many people now came to visit at our home among them the son of Daniel Boone on his way to join his father at his new abode on the Missouri.[2] My father bought the nag he had ridden from Kentucky, he intending to finish his journey by boat and "Old Boone," as we named him, though, no doubt, longing for his beloved blue grass pasture, managed for many years, like his namesake, to live contentedly "further west". Mr. Boone presented my father with a portrait of the old pioneer in his scarlet coat trimmed with coonskins, which still remains in the family.

Henry Clay too was a guest at our home on the occasion of his several visits to St. Louis. Thomas H. Benton was also a frequent visitor, a large man of powerful build who impressed me with all the dignity of the great statesman and orator that he was. My mother never liked Thomas Benton, on account of his killing Mr. Lucas, who was also a friend and neighbor. She could never get over her first impression made by the shock of seeing Mr. Lucas carried home dead with Benton's bullet in his breast.

My father was a man of sterling qualities, kind and courteous, standing high in the order of Masons and

[2] Major Kennerly's knowledge of this visit must have been based upon hearsay, since Daniel Boone died in 1820.

the Episcopal Church, being one of the first trustees of Christ Church, now the Cathedral. It was a crushing blow, therefore, to the entire family when just two years after the death of General Clark he, too, passed away and was laid to rest by his side, in the vault of his old friend, Colonel John O'Fallon, whose close comrade he had been since the latter came a young man from Virginia, to seek his fortune in the West.

Her husband being taken at the age of forty-five, my poor mother remained a widow for fifty-three years, living to see a perfect renaissance of science take place in her generation. She was Elise Marie, daughter of Dr. Pierre Antoine Saugrain, and had spent the early days of her childhood tripping about the paths of Madame Saugrain's beautiful garden, used as a park by the people who came to visit the green-houses and see the wonderful plants sent by Madame's friends from many parts of the world. Here roses and honeysuckle ran riot in color and sweetness, while the "golden shower of the Alps" drooped with its heavy weight of yellow petals until it almost touched the velvet sward. Through all was seen the deft touch of the French gardener, and the whole was an inspiration to the citizens who came therein.

Let us pause here to look back with sympathy on these same creole citizens, who, leaving for one cause or another their beloved France, came to take up the life of pioneers in a barren wilderness; obliged to assume occupations ill-fitted to many of them, and where Indians frequently came into the village and massacred the inhabitants. No wonder then, that they loved to step through the little wicket in the high stone wall of Madame Saugrain's garden, where the roses bloomed and the birds sang as sweetly as if no slinking savages lurked near. No wonder that as they turned from the window of the old stone house, whose broad sill served as the primitive post office, to read the treas-

ured letters from dear ones at home that they fancied themselves back in some garden spot of memory, where sparkled the fountain of youth in the sunlight of dreams long since veiled in a mist of tears. Some little *parc* in "La belle France" with gray ancestral towers in the background which cast shadows of the coming revolution and the terror. Ah! these gay, lighthearted *emigres.* How bravely they took up their cross and carried it far away over seas to a foreign shore.

This little bit of French history has always seemed to me like a jewel dropped from the very crown of civilization in the old world, into the rough and rugged setting of the new.

Many were the attempts made at education in those early days. One after another would come a venturesome school-master opening a school in some rude log hut only to be frightened away at the first cry of Les Indiens vienuent so that the Saugrain children received most or their learning from the Doctor's French library, probably the only collection of scientific books in this western country, which is now most valuable and still in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Wm. H. H. Pettus.

Petit Elise lived in St. Louis under three flags, Spanish, French and American. Observing keenly what took place about her, she was much interested in the experiments of her father and, brought up in such a scientific environment that in her 94th year she was prepared for the strides which science had taken, saying, that her father had always told her she would live to see just such wonders, and especially in electricity. He had assisted his friend, Benjamin Franklin, to fly that famous kite, so knew whereof he spoke. His were no idle prognostications.

Romance, too, crept into the wilderness. As Mdlle. Saugrain spoke no English and her husband knew lit-

tle French, the young cupid of the Louisianas must have cared as little for mere language as for "bolts and bars" and depended for effect upon his silver darts.

Soon after the death of my beloved father I made my first trip across the Plains with Sir William Stewart; but I have written of that, how we hunted the buffalo and met with the different tribes of Indians.

Several years after returning, in the year 1842, being now quite grown up and the village likewise having grown into quite a town, I began to go about in society, enjoying the "parties" as most functions were then styled, given by the old residents. Among these were the Paschals, Bents, Carrs, Grahams, Chouteaus, Soulards, Papins, Colliers, Prattes, Chenies, Sarpys, Von Phuls, Mullanphys, and General Harney, whose home on Fourth street was quite palatial, with marble columns and statuary. These parties began early in the evening and supper was served on a long table supporting at one end a saddle of venison on which some expert carver was requested to show his skill; while in the center were great pyramids of spun sugar and nougat, broken at the last amidst much merriment. Chicken bouillon was constantly passed between the dances giving the guests renewed strength to keep up the pace until the small hours.

As to the city the western boundary was now extended as far as Ninth street, where the Benoists had a beautiful home, and the fashionable residence district was along Pine and Olive street from Fourth to Eighth. The promenade extending to Twelfth street and "Yeatman's Row", on which sauntered the beaux, edging away from the wide hoop skirts, at the same time trying to whisper sweet passages from Locksley Hall (just then out) into the large poke bonnets of the belles.

One of the most picturesque characters of the pe-

riod was old Mons. Pascal Cerré, about the last of the old *regime,* in satin small clothes and silver buckles.

Another, was Judge Lawless, a pompous individual with a most voluminous ruff. Wimar was then painting his famous Indian pictures, and De Francia, in his studio on Chestnut street, was perpetuating on canvas the charms of at least one beauty out of almost every family.

A few celebrities penetrated the region west of the Mississippi, among them being Charles Dickens, who was entertained by some of his admirers; and the following year Audubon started in the Fur Company's boat, to study natural history on the Yellowstone. Soon after this several thousand Missourians wound slowly over the Oregon trail en route to that distant land, for "Westward Ho" was still the far-sounding slogan of the people.

There was a "Thespian Society," as well as the "Assembly Club," the young men giving balls to the ladies in the old Planter's House. I recall one in particular, a masque ball, to which I escorted the "village belle", later the wife of a distinguished governor; and the fetching costume she wore was that of a ballet girl in very short skirts and pink tights. On arriving at the ball we met with difficulty, but finally gained admittance, the rule being that no one should enter without disclosing their identity. After much speculation on the part of the other guests, she retired, like Cinderella, before the time to unmask, so that her little secret was never known. Another character that caused much comment was that of Bernard Pratte, Jr., as a monkey, sliding head foremost down a pole hung from the music balcony and jumping with many antics into the midst of a stately quadrille. The costume worn by Jeff was most magnificent, being composed entirely of small iridescent scales over-lapping on a tight suit, with wings of thin rubber stretched

on wire, so that on moving his arms they could be thrown out before him fully enveloping the fair maiden with whom he wished to dance. The whole costume wonderfully suited to his large physique was planned by his brother, Lewis Clark, who had had every female member of the family sewing on spangles for weeks in advance. He was also provided with a barbed tail of heavy wire, intending that an imp should ride upon it, but no willing imp being found for so trying a position, his satanic majesty was obliged to go unattended.

Merriwether Lewis Clark was an artist as well as an architect and successful in whatever he undertook, from the designing of a costume to the building of a new theater on Third and Olive street, which was considered quite wonderful then. It was here in this play house that I first saw the elder Booth. He was playing Richard Third, and being addicted to imbibing too freely it was the custom of the management to keep him locked up during his engagement, at these times. On this occasion, however, he had managed to slip out to the bar adjoining and the result was that when it came to the hand to hand battle between Richard Third and Richmond, he was so much in earnest that he not only tried to kill, but wounded that unfortunate actor, who was then obliged to defend his life by backing Booth off of the stage and then running for an exit; the intrepid prince pursuing him through the theater and out into the street, where he was at last stopped by the amazed populace. The excitement of the audience was intense at being treated to a real duel instead of the usual "two up and three down" of the stage affair, though some of them were disappointed at such a sudden, though realistic, termination.

Another great actor, or rather actress, who played at the same time was Ellen Tree, appearing in the "School for Scandal" and a Shakespearian repertoire

with McCready, who was also a finished actor. A little later the musical world was stirred by little Adelina Patti, a spoiled child of twelve years, to whom her sister and brother-in-law, Strakosch, had to promise all kinds of toys before she would be induced to sing; but when those wonderful notes warbled forth, those possessing a soul for music were entranced and all agreed that nothing like them had been heard since the time of Jenny Lind.

St. Louis society at this time was like one large family, and especially were they all brought together on New Year's day, when, with many recollections and much good cheer, croquignoles and egg nog, the day was given over to visiting and merry-making. In those winters the river froze solid, permitting us to skate as far as Alton, while dodging heavily laden teams crossing from this side to the Illinois shore.

Amid all our gay doings the troubles in Texas about the boundaries began to be manifest, conditions becoming more involved, until 1846 when war was formally declared with Mexico. Feeling against the Mexicans for the terrible massacre of the Alamo was high in Missouri, and there was no difficulty in raising companies of militia to take arms against them. Being rather a soldier of fortune and catching the war's spirit that was in the air I assisted in the organization of Battery A, St. Louis Light Artillery, and now the laying aside of my happy care-free existence to help shoulder the troubles of a nation and begin the forward march of 4,000 miles into the enemy's country, will have to be told in another chapter.

JULIA DEAN.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society 17 March, 1906.)

Continued from Vol. III, No. 3.

Act Three. Scene One.

On Monday morning, the first of October, 1859, I presented myself before the Louisville manager who, seated at his table, gave me a scrutinizing look, and after a few words of indifferent talk handed me the part of "Falkland" in "The Rivals," a whining and pompous lover who opens every act with a lachrymose sentimental soliloquy about a woman who he unjustly suspects to be false to him, and in this character I was to open the following night. I was terrorized for I had neither a costume for the part nor proper time to study it. However, I determined to do the best I could, and with a heavy heart and a fear that was painful, I got through with it the next night to the dissatisfaction of both actors and public in general and myself in particular. I was tabooed, and the next part I received was such as was generally given to the smallest actors in the business, or to those they wished to get rid of without falling under the imputation of having broken an engagement. I looked upon the transaction as unfair and felt like explaining myself to the manager and quitting at once. However, pride and a sense of shame prevented me from taking this step and so I struggled on for several weeks in the resolve to hold on until some opportunity or accident should occur to enable me to show my capacity and then quit at once. And strange to say I had implicit faith that such an occasion would arrive, and I was not deceived. Julia Dean

arrived and was to open in "Lucretia Borgia," and I, as usual, was cast for one of the smallest parts. Manager Lorton was to play the very good and difficult part of the "Duke Alphonso," the husband of "Lucretia," but, as he received a telegram at the beginning of the rehearsal to come at once to Cincinnati on business of importance, it was impossible for him to appear on that night, and someone else had to be chosen to play the part. Here, they thought, was a fine opportunity to get rid of me. They saw that I was determined to remain in spite of the small parts, the cold politeness or general ignoring of my personality, but they felt confident that giving me this difficult part in which they deemed I was bound to make a scandalous failure, they would have the sure means to send me packing home again the very next day. Sam Ryan, the comedian, who had been in the company at St. Joseph, and who knew me, said, as I was going on the stage: "All right boy, you'll show them now." My principal scene with Miss Dean had not progressed two minutes when the actors came to the entrance to watch it while round after round of applause resounded through the densely filled house. My greatest satisfaction, however, was that the manager had returned in time to witness the scene. The act being over I was called before the curtain (and calls were not cheap in those days), and I received quite an ovation. As I was passing to my room, the manager laid his hand on my shoulder and said: "Young man you play that part remarkably well." Julia Dean, who was standing by, answered laughingly: "Yes, he played it much better than you ever did." Next day I received a long and flattering notice in the Louisville Journal, then edited by the poet and essayist, George Prentice, and, as the saying is, I had gone up like a sky-rocket in the estimation of the actors who previously had snubbed me, for which I never blamed

them. I had patiently waited for the opportunity and it had come.

From this time forth I was strictly held to my line of business. Most of my parts were new to me, of great length and written in blank verse, and so at times I was compelled to study at night until three and four o'clock when I would go to bed and arise again at eight, go down into the yard and after giving my head a good ducking of cold water under the hydrant, eat a scanty breakfast, go at once to the theatre, where I would stride up and down the stage reviewing what I had studied during the night so as to be perfect at the ten o'clock rehearsal. And this life often lasted for several weeks. I can never forget the severe tasks I accomplished during that winter, nor the copious hydrant baths I took, for there is no doubt that these were the cause of the severe neuralgia I suffered more than twenty years. Notwithstanding, these were among the happiest days of my life. I received encouragement and favors from the very stars that were generally feared on account of their exacting demands. Preeminent among these were Miss Heron and Miss Jeanette Davenport (afterwards Mrs. General Landers) and, above all, Charles Couldock, whose arrival was looked upon by most actors with fear and aversion, and truly the stories of his irascibility and eccentricities were not calculated to make a young fellow feel comfortable. He came during the season and produced the "Advocate." I was cast for the villain of the play, a part that was very long and continually in contact with him, a fact which filled me with apprehension. However, at the rehearsal he very kindly instructed me in whatever he required, and also promised to loan me a costume and wig for the part. In the evening I went to his dressing room, and when he handed me the costume I observed that his eyes were filled with tears. After

drawing a long sigh, he said that that costume had been worn last by his little son, who had doffed it to burlesque an actor he had seen in Richard III, and that his quaint antics and pranks had been such as to make the family roar with laughter, "And," he added, "three days later I placed him in his little coffin." After what I had heard of him I was somewhat astonished at this effusion of tears and tenderness, but his strong emotional nature was as capable of pity as of anger. I got through my difficult task to his satisfaction and ever after I found him kind and obliging to those who had their business at heart.

During the latter part of the season a play entitled "The Sybil" was announced. It was popularly known as the Frankfort Tragedy and treated of an occurrence that had happened some few years previous. A young and beautiful woman had rejected the importunate love of a Col. Sharp and preferred another, named Beauchamp, upon which, to avenge himself, the discarded colonel slandered the lady. An encounter took place between the rivals and the favored lover was shot by the colonel. Thereupon, to avenge his death the bride practiced daily with a pistol until she was able to hit a bullseye at sixty paces, sought the colonel, shot him, and then died of a broken heart. A Mausoleum in the beautiful cemetery on the high bluffs at Frankfort contains the remains of the unhappy lovers, and at the time spoken of it was an object of much interest to tourists. This, as far as I can remember, was the story of the play. At the time the occurrence was still alive in everybody's mind and, as relatives of the parties were still living, a strong effort was made to prevent its production on the stage. Threats being of no avail with the management, some of the parties came on the day of the performance and commanded the manager to withdraw it, which he refused unless $600.00 were paid to him as indemnifica-

tion for the loss of the tickets which had already been sold. They refused and threatened trouble. At five o'clock in the afternoon, however, they returned and offered the money which was refused. At night the house was packed with an excited crowd while the gallery seemed to have gone crazy. Avonia Jones was the "Sybil" and the role of the murderous colonel was assigned to me. The play went on quietly until I appeared on the scene to meet the "Sybil," when a volley of imprecations and curses rent the air, and the vilest epithets that can be imagined were hurled from the gallery and the parquette. I tried to speak several times, but was prevented by new outbursts and cries of "shoot him," "kill the mongrel!" I stood still and calmly awaiting the end. Some ladies near me in the boxes exclaimed: "Oh! what a shame. Go on, Mr. Krone; don't let them frighten you." I bowed to them slightly in acknowledgment of their sympathy and encouragement, but could not go on, and as to being afraid, I never feared a mob while in the performance of my duty, though I have often trembled before the judgment of the intelligent and judicious. These noisy demonstrations were repeated to the end, but less violently and of shorter duration. This was my first experience of that kind, but not the last. As I was growing in favor my salary was increased $2.00 per week, but the amount of study I had gone through at last made me feel confused and ill. Nor was any rest allowed me, for whenever I begged to be released from a part of my work, the answer was: "You can't do it, eh? Well, you must." That word "you must" in a theatre is like the fiery writing on the wall. You must act as long as you are well enough to stand and speak. You must act if your family is ill or dead, and your own heart is loaded down in sorrow. It is a very excellent word, too, where duty is concerned, as everyone will admit who has been trained on it.

This season, and for the first time, the drama of "The Hidden Hand" was produced. It was adopted from Mrs. Southworth's popular novel of that name by our stage manager, Robert Jones. And it had a run of six weeks to full houses. Another novel by the same authoress, "The Doom of Deville," was dramatized by the manager and had a run of only three weeks with indifferent houses. During the nine weeks' run we had rest and leisure and a wicket ball club was organized by the actors. When the weather was fine an omnibus was hired to convey the club and a quantity of lunch, beer and cigars to Cedar Hill for a game of ball in which lessee, manager and every employe participated. Fishing excursions to the neighboring streams and the falls were also enjoyed, and so the time passed until the weekly stars arrived once more.

During Murdoch's engagement of three weeks, "Hamlet" was played fourteen times in this town, which then had a population of some 50,000 inhabitants. During the last week the famous old comedy "Wine Works Wonders" and Schiller's "Robbers" were produced. The theatre being occupied by a French Opera troupe the next week, the company was sent to Cincinnati to support Murdoch at the old National Theatre. He opened with "The School for Scandal" and the house was almost empty. Then followed his excellent rendition of "Hamlet," which drew no better, and so, before the end of the week, he threw up the engagement and retired to his beautiful home at Avondale near Cincinnati.

The time was undergoing a change and the phase of art he represented was about to be relegated to the realms of history. The trials and struggles of his life to attain eminence as a superior delineator of both tragedy and comedy were about to close, and his literary acquirements and intense love of the old dramatists of whom he was a worthy interpreter, were

no longer appreciated nor required for the theatre. The actor, instead of being the medium to express in beautiful forms the idea of the poet, had become independent of him and consequently the art had begun to degenerate into anarchic buffoonery and the grossest naturalism. The time had approached for the clown and negro minstrels to take the place of the sterling player, and the ancient beautiful symbols of Thalia and Melpomene were about to be changed for a Punchinello and the blood smeared corpse of an adulterer to represent the muses of tragedy and comedy. Vulgar platitudes and the lowest of human sensualities glorified by the sacred arts of music and painting were henceforth to be presented to the public. This was no time for a Murdoch and ere long he quit the stage to enter upon the lecture and reader's platform, and finally we find him during the Civil War in the mines at Vicksburg, reading, reciting and encouraging the soldiers in their arduous labors. In 1877 he once more appeared upon his old field of action, but it seems without success, for he again retired to Avondale until his death. Truly a whole man who on his deathbed like Pericles might have asked of those that stood around him: "Have I played my part well?" In him the American people lost not only an artist of superior endowments whose influence on the world was for good alone, but a kind, plain unassuming gentleman and a patriotic citizen.

After our return to Louisville, the general run of stars was played until the end of the season in July. I was anxious to return to St. Louis and to my family, as I believed that I had reached the point where I could show myself with credit, to my friends at home. However, I was pressed to remain another season and as everything was to my liking I consented.

The theatre was well managed, on the same principle as that of DeBar's, although a trifle more free

and easy. The company was good and Manager Lorton was very particular that his actors were not only efficient in their art, but gentlemen. Though drinking was more prevalent here and the temptation stronger than at home, any indecorum resultant from that cause was severely reprimanded. The members of his company enjoyed the society and confidence of the general public and any actor owing a debt to a citizen, if reported, was compelled by the manager to settle it or quit. Lorton, the manager, was of a tall stature, and dignified features, almost the counterpart of James Buchanan, the president of that period. He was a strict disciplinarian, but a kindhearted man and a good actor. He died in 1860 and was buried in Cave Hill Cemetery. The Louisville Stock Theatre, though it struggled on after his death under the management of George Fuller, a gentleman of literary attainments, a historical painter, linguist, dramatic author, and a correspondent known at the time by the name of Mahlstick. The theatre never regained its former ascendency.

Among the important events that happened during the season was that of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, October 16th, 1859. This was the prologue to the terrible drama that was about to begin. Gloomy and fearful forebodings had taken possession of the general mind as to what the future would prove. Notwithstanding this, during this ten months' season, three merry weddings had been celebrated in our company, and as I had formed the acquaintance of a Louisville maiden, I determined to marry as soon as I had fully established myself in my position and possessed sufficient means to maintain a household. On the third of July the theatre closed and I took the train for home.

I arrived in St. Louis on the 4th of July and found the community in a ferment of excitement about the

coming Presidential election. After spending the summer months agreeably with my family and friends, the latter part of August found me again at my old post at the Louisville theatre, which opened the first week in September. The usual list of stars appeared and the business was good in spite of the political excitement until the bombardment and capitulation of Ft. Sumpter on April 12th, when it suddenly fell below expenses. A mass meeting was called at the public square and addressed by George D. Prentice, who hoisted a union flag amid the cheers and singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" by thousands of men, women and children. Business of every kind came to a standstill excepting the military preparations for war. Discouraging news arrived from all parts of the country and especially from St. Louis, where the conflict had begun in riot and bloodshed. I learned that most of my friends had joined the Union army and I felt very uneasy about my family and was anxious to be with them.

On May 10th news arrived of the capture of Camp Jackson, and I determined at once to send in my resignation and leave for home. The event of the capture was hailed with delight by the loyal people of Louisville, and as the majority of our actors and orchestra were on the union side, a very indiscreet ovation was planned to celebrate the victory in a patriotic manner. After the performance, all those of the theatre and their Union friends assembled at the stage door, where a procession was formed, headed by a tall Kentuckian who carried a large Union flag fastened to a long pole. The word was given and the party moved on through the principal streets of the town on their risky march, shouting "Hurrah for the Union." Several halts were made at friendly taverns, where short speeches were delivered. All went on smoothly until we reached a corner of a street where

some young fellows on the opposite side shouted: "Hurrah for Jeff Davis," to which we replied: "Hurrah for the Union" and the flag bearer waving his flag, cried out: "You and your Jeff Davis come and take this from us if you dare." This was answered by several pistol shots, which were returned by our side, and singing: "The Star Spangled Banner long may it wave." No harm had been done excepting the breaking of a window pane that had been struck by one of the balls. A police officer arrived and advised us to quit our frolic or he would be obliged to run us in for disturbing the peace. After this the party retired to the back room of the Italian's saloon opposite the theatre, where the celebration was kept up until three o'clock in the morning. Gen. Buckner, of Kentucky, had gone farther south to raise an army, and thousands of the young men of the town and the surrounding country were flocking to his standard. One morning I saw a boat load of young fellows who, with yells and shouts and shots fired from Fourth of July pistols, were leaving to join Buckner's force; and in the afternoon a trainload of men left on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad bound for the same destination. The cars were packed, the young men and the boys, of which there were a considerable number, were wild with excitement, singing southern war songs and waving palmetto flags. To my utter consternation I beheld my landlady's son in the crowd. He was a lad of seventeen years of age, an only child, and idolized by his mother. I remonstrated with him and recalled his mother to his mind, to which he replied: "I can't help it, Mr. Krone; I can't help it. Break the news gently to my mother and console her for me." The train started amidst yells, cheers and songs, and I did not see him again until four years afterwards, when he was brought home in his coffin from Dry Tortugas, where he had died a prisoner. When I came

home and told his mother what I had seen, the poor woman almost went mad with grief and all efforts to console her were in vain. For two days her only answer to every attempt to lessen her grief was: "My God; my God; my only child and hope, my Herman." It was the most affecting scene I ever witnessed and it was not the only one that took place in Louisville that day. Everything seemed to be changing from order and peace to anarchy, strife and sorrow. Many of my friends had left home and family to join Morgan, that Morgan who in peace I had known as one of the most unassuming and quiet gentlemen of the time. Two of the actors of our company had also joined the union army and two had gone south.

As prospects under these conditions were uncertain in all southern theatres, and as no preparations were made by the management for the following season, I had concluded an engagement with a Pittsburgh theatre for the ensuing year; so I left Louisville, where I had been so happy and contented, had received so much encouragement and kindness during my two seasons' residence. On my arrival in St. Louis in the dusk of a gloomy evening, I was painfully affected by the contrast that presented itself between this city and Louisville. There all was feverish excitement; tension and painful quietness prevailed in St. Louis. As I walked toward home in the southern part of the city, small groups of men were standing in front of their doors who, with troubled looks and in low voices, conversed on the serious state of affairs, and when I inquired for certain of my friends I was told they were in the arsenal, where some had enlisted and others were held as prisoners of the Camp Jackson capture. The next morning I was awakened by a loud rumbling noise in the street and saw two companies of artillery who were going at a quick pace to the upper part of the city where trouble was apprehended.

During the day a regiment of rustics marched to the arsenal. They were headed by a brass band composed of countrymen who played: "We are coming, Father Abraham, Three Hundred Thousand More" in a most discordant and ear-splitting manner, while the men were singing: "John Brown's body is hanging in the air." Regiment after regiment came pouring in, night and day, and before long all was activity and life. To be a soldier seemed to be the only thing that was right or profitable and I started for the arsenal and saw Captain Fuchs, in whose company many of my friends had enlisted. He advised me to join him and that he would promote my interests as far as he was able. I stated the proposition to my family, and a woeful lament was raised by my mother. But the strongest opposition was from my grandmother, who had lived through the latter part of the Napoleonic period, in which my grandfather, a professional soldier, had served in Spain as drillmaster of a regiment of lancers. My father also had served two terms in the Britanic-Hanoverian Army, one of which was compulsory and another as a substitute in order to obtain the means to marry. My step-father, also a professional soldier, farrier and riding master, had served on the frontier and in Mexico. With this record my mother asserted the family had done their military duty without risking the only man that was left of the family. They proposed that I should seek an engagement at home and get married, and I consented.

On July 16th news arrived of the disastrous defeat of our army at Bull Run and later the tidings of a dearly won victory at Wilson's creek and Springfield, followed by the arrival of the wounded and the bodies of those killed in that battle. The heroic Gen. Lyon was also among the slain. His body was brought here from whence it was conveyed with great funeral hon-

ors to the train that was to take it to his home in Connecticut. The road to the ferry was crowded with sympathetic spectators and women and children sobbed and wept aloud, as the cortege passed.

The gloom and melancholy that pervaded everywhere and the hopeless prospects for the future, together with the thought of a beggarly salary of ten dollars per week that awaited me in Pittsburgh, a sum that was less than I had received in cheap and peaceful times, decided me to return to Louisville, where I was sure to get work as a typesetter at good pay and could make arrangements for my marriage and wait for better times.

As no one was allowed to leave the city without a pass from the military authorities, I called upon Major McKinstry, the Provost Marshal, whose headquarters were situated on the northeast corner of Washington Avenue and Fourth street. I found the room filled with a crowd of men whose anxious looks and eager manner betrayed the general fear and alarm that prevailed. Not a loud word was spoken. The noise of shuffling feet as the crowd silently jostled and shoved one another to get to the railing was the only sounds heard, excepting when a tall soldier in a uniform, bedizened with yellow tape, shouted: "Stand back." The crowd was largely composed of well-dressed men who appeared to belong to the well-to-do classes of society, and it seemed as if the soldier had made these the particular victims of his martial ire, for he would shove them against the wall and sling them to the right and left to make room for plainly attired men that stood quietly waiting. I was standing far back near the door when the soldier beckoned me to enter within the railing where the marshal was seated at a table. Upon stating my desire to go to Louisville he looked at me sharply and asked, "What for?" I answered, "To work." He replied, "To work?

There's plenty of work here for a young fellow like you. What are you?" "An actor," I answered. He looked at me closely. "An actor? Humph, I think I have seen you at DeBar's a few seasons ago." I replied that no doubt he had, upon which he gave me my pass and I retired with a joyful heart and the satisfaction of having learned an interesting object lesson in history.

That very evening I left for Louisville. When the omnibus arrived at the Wiggins Ferry Landing, the door was opened by a soldier, who shouted: "Passes." They were handed to him, and after examining them closely, he stepped out, slammed the door with a force that made the glass rattle, shouted "all right" and we immediately entered the boat.

Baptism of the First Church Bell in St. Louis: The year seventeen hundred and seventy-four, the twenty-fourth of December, I, the undersigned, have baptised with the ordinary ceremonies of the Church a new bell, which is named Pierre Joseph Felicité, and of which the godfather is *Messire* Pierre Joseph de Piernas, Captain of a battalion of Louisiana, and Lieutenant Governor of the Illinois; and the godmother Dame Felicité de Piernas de Portneuf; who have signed with me the day and year above mentioned.

Pedro Piernas, Felicité Portneuf Piernas, Baroy, Benito Basquez, fr Valentin curé.—*Translated from the Cathedral Register.*

EXTRACT FROM JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN HARRY GORDON.[1]

"7th, [August, 1766] We got to ye Fork of the Ohio in Lat. 36° 43', about 40 Miles below Massiac. We took a survey of the River in coming down. Our Bearings and Distance, from the Method we imagined and carefully pursued, have a considerable Right to be exact, and have been corrected with Observations on the Lat. that are to be depended on. The gentle Ohio is push'd back by the impetuous Stream of the Mississippi, whose muddy, white Water is to be seen above 200 yds. up the former. We examined the Ground for several Miles within the Fork. It is an Aggregation of Mud and Dirt, interspersed with Marsh and some Ponds of Water, and is in high Times of the Mississippi overflowed; which is the Case with the other Sides of both Rivers.

"9th & 10th, repaired the Boats, and fitted them strongly with every Thing in our Power, to encounter the Stream of the Mississippi, which we thought hardly possible, having been so long used to the much gentler One of the Pleasant Ohio.

"11th Augt. having been joined by a Party of the 34 Regt. from F. Chartres, we began to ascend the Mississippi, whose rapid Stream has broke through the Country, and divided it everywhere into a Number of Islands. The low Lands on each Side continue 8 Leagues upwards, when it becomes broken, and small Ridges appear for the Rest of the Way to Kaskaskias. There are many Islands in this Distance, some of which entirely of Rock. That called by the French,

[1] Reprinted, by permission of the author, from *The Wilderness Trail* by Charles A. Hanna, 2 vols. George P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1911. This book is a treasure house of interesting information.

La Tour, which it much resembles, is 11 Leagues below the Kaskaskias River. The Distance of This River from the Forks is 31 Leagues.

"The Mississippi's principal Stream is from 5 to 700 yds. wide, but it is scarcely ever to be seen together, and some small parts are above a mile distant from one another; the Principall Stream likewise often shifts, & the deep Chanels also, which makes the Pilotage of the River extremely difficult; & Boats often get a Ground in ascending, chiefly when endeav oring to avoid the rapid Current.

"The 19th, we got in the morning to the small River of the Kaskaskias, 80 Yds. wide at the Mouth, but Deep, 5 Feet, which it carries up to the village, and is said to be navigable 50 Leagues further A Detachment of 1 Offr. & 30 Men are Quartered here, where we arrived the same Day, distant from the Mouth of the River of that Name 2 Leagues. The high Grounds mentioned skirt along the South Side of the Kaskaskias River, come opposite the Village, and continue along Northerly, in a Chain nearly parallel to the East Bank of the Mississippi, at the Distance from it of 2 to 3 Miles. This Space between is level, mostly open, & of the richest Kinds of Soil, in which the Inhabitants of the Illinois raise their Grain, &ca.

"The Kaskaskias Village is on the Plain. It consists of 80 Houses, well built, mostly of stone, with Gardens and large Lots to each, whose inhabitants live generally well, & some of them have large Stocks of Cattle & Hogs. There was a new Fort begun by the French, of Logs, opposite the Village on the rising Ground, t'other side of the River, but entirely commanding it. Ensign Hutchins I sent by Water to compleat the Survey to Fort Chartres. That I might see the Country, I went by Land.

"The Road to Fort Chartres is along the Plain, passing in some Places near the Chain of rocky

Heights above mentioned. The Distance to the Fort is 18 Miles. The Road passes thro' the Village of the Kaskaskia Indians, of 16 Cabbins, and afterwards thro' a French one, called Prairie de Roche, in which are 14 Families. The last is distant 3 Mile from Fort Chartres; between is the Village called *L'Etablisment,* mostly deserted, and the Inhabitants gone to Misere on the West Bank of the River, a little higher than the Kaskaskias.

"20th, arrived at Fort Chartres, where I found one of a well imagined and finished Fort of 4 Bast^{n} of Stone Masonry, designed defensible agt. Musquetry. The Barracks are also of Masonry, commodious and elegant. This Place is large enough to contain 400 Men, but may defend itself with a Third of the Number against Indians, if Care is taken to mow the Weeds near it, which grow to 10 and 11 Ft. Height, and very rank. It is now in Danger of being undermined by the Mississippi, whose Eastern Bord is already within 26 Yards of the Point of the S. W. Bastion. The Bank I found thirty Feet high, Sandy, with small Gravel (very uncommon Soil for the Banks of this River, that are mostly Mud or flat Clay), and perpendicular; so that the crumbling occasion'd by Frost would demolish in a little Time this small Space before the Bastion. When we took Possession of this Fort the River was above 100 Yds. Distance, and before that, the French who foresaw its Approach, had expended much Labour and Money to try to prevent it. They fascined and piled the Banks, but the Torrent soon got Passage behind them. Had they brought the Banks to a large Slope, retired those of a gravelly Kind so as to have an Eddy on them in Flood Time; drove a Number of Button-Wood short Stakes in the Slope, which immediately take Root, and got together floating Trees and any Thing else of that Kind the Floods bring down, made those fast at the Point where

the Stream divides to come by the Fort and round the Island opposite to it; This last might have averted the Strength of the Current towards the western Bank, and by stopping the Rubbish that comes along with the Floods, have formed a Bar at the Point. The gravelly Banks would not have resisted the Flood an Eddy would have laid upon them; nor would there have been any Resistances to the Current at Bottom, whose Effect would have thereby been diminished. Upon these Principles I gave Instructions to Lieut. Pitman, Assist. Engineer at this Post, to proceed. The Ruin of the Fort was inevitable next Spring without doing something. But a Part at least may be saved at a small Expense, to lodge the Garrison till other Measures are resolved on.

"The Sickly State of the Troops did not allow of getting any Number to work during my Stay, nor was the Water low enough, or the Heats abated, to make much Work otherwise advisable. This being the case, I proceeded the 28th to view the Country upwards; our own Boatmen being sickley and much fatigued, I went by Land, accompanied with Lieut. Pitman and Ensign Hutchins, to Kyahokie [Cahokia], 45 Miles distant from the Fort, and the upper most Settlement on our Side.

"In the Route we pass le Petit Village, 5 Miles from the Fort, a Place formerly inhabited by 12 Families, now only one since our Possession. The abandoned Houses are most of them well built and left in good Order. The grounds are favourable near the Village for Grain, particularly Wheat; and extensive cleared Land, sufficient for the Labour of 100 Men to cultivate.

"We turn off here to the Eastward, and in 2 Miles come on the high Ground, when we keep till within 3 Miles of Kyahokia, when we return to the Plain to get to that Village. Here are 43 Families of French,

who live well, and so might three Times that Number as there is a great Quantity of arable clear Land of the best Soil near it. There is likewise 20 Cabbins of Peoiria Indians left here. The Rest and best Part are moved to the French Side, 2 Miles below Pain Court. It is reckoned the Wheat thrives better here than at Kaskaskias, owing probably, to its being more Northerly by almost a Degree.

"At This Place we endeavoured to hire 3 men and a Canoe, as we said, to view the Missouri; but our Intention was as far as the Illinois River. We could not prevail by Intreaty or Money to get such a Number, or even a Canoe, to go with us. An Invitation came from Mr. St. Ange, the French Commandant in the Illinois, to go to Pain Court, with Promise to be assisted in our Progress upwards. We went to Pain Court the 30th, where we staid next Day; were civilly treated by Mr. St. Ange and the other Gentlemen, but, thro a little Jelousy, were disappointed in going upwards, and returned to Kyahokie the 31st in the Evening.

"The Village of Pain Court (now St. Louis), is pleasantly situated on a high Ground which forms the W. Bank of the Mississippi; it is 3 Miles higher up than Kyahokie; has already fifty Families, supported chiefly from thence; and seems to flourish very quick.

"At This Place, Mr. Le Clef (Laclede) the principal Indian Trader resides, who takes so good Measures, that the whole Trade of the Missouri, That of the Mississippi Northwards, and that of the Nations near La Baye, Lake Michigan, and St. Josephs, by the Illinois River, is entirely brought to Him. He appears to be sensible, clever, and has been very well educated; is very active, and will give us some Trouble before we get the Parts of this Trade that belong to us out of His Hands.

"We found it impracticable to go further upwards, without waiting for a Boat from ye Fort, which would have been a long Time of coming, and otherwise might have given Jealousies that would have occasioned greater Disappointment, as Mr. le Clef is readily served by the Indians he has planted within 2 Miles of Him.

"We returned to Fort Chartres the 2nd of Septr. by the same Route we came. Some Days were employed in visiting and directing Lieut. Pitman in the Work he was set about, and Composing Instructions regarding his viewing the Country towards the Illinois River, and likewise, that on the other Hand to the Ohio and the old Post of Massiac. I found myself no longer usefull at Fort Chartres, and returned to Kaskaskias the 6th.

"The next Day viewed the Country round this Village, in order to fix a Situation for the principal Post in Case of the Demolition of Fort Chartres by the Curr. of the Mississippi, which most probably will hapen in 3 Years' Time, perhaps in less. Viewed that part to the Nor'w of the small River, as also along the Bank of the great one upwards, to search for a rising Ground, and a Shelter for Craft; which now lays at the Village, thro want of such at the Fort. We discovered nothing to Purpose. The Afternoon, we cross'd the small River, with much fatigue, and, a Foot, visited the Situation of the Fort Begun by the French as mentioned already. We found it a very good one, accessible only on the East Side; the West by which we went up, narrow, steep and easily defended. It commands the Town, the River below, overlooks the Plain towards the Mississippi, which does not seem 3 Miles across in a straight Line, and has a fair chance of being a healthy Spot, at least an airy one, as it is high Placed, on dry Ground, and near good Water.

"Our Possession of the Illinois is only usefull at present in one Respect. It shows the Indian Nations our Superiority over the French, to whom, they can thence perceive, we give Law. This is dearly bought by the Expense it is to us, and the Inconvenience of supporting it. The French carry on the Trade all round us by Land and by Water; 1st, Up the Mississippi, and to the Lakes by the Ouiasconsin, Foxes, Chicagou, and Illinois Rivers; 2ndly, Up the Ohio to the Wabash Indians; and even the small Quantity of Skins or Furs that the Kaskaskias and Peoirias (who are on our side) get by hunting is carried under our Nose to Misere and Pain Court. A Garrison at the Illinois River, and a Post at La Baye will partly prevent the first; and one at Massiac will, as has been said, stop their Intercourse with the People on the Wabash, who consist of several Nations. Coop'd up at Fort Chartres only, we make a foolish Figure; hardly have the Dominion of the Country, or as much Credit with the Inhabitants as induce them to give us any Thing for Money, while our neighbours have Plenty on Trust."

Primitive Money. It must not be supposed that banks of circulation were unknown to the ancient inhabitants. On the contrary, they even then had existence. Besides the currency of furs and peltries, which was of a character almost as cumbersome as the iron money of the Spartans, they had a real shinplaster circulation. Witness the following, which is a copy and translation of a genuine document in my possession:

"*Bon pour six livre de Barbue a St. Louis ce* 25 *7bre* 1799 *Antoine Roy.*"

Translation: Good for six pounds of catfish, at St. Louis, this 25 September, 1799. Antoine Roy.

Note to Judge Primm's address, 15 Feb. 1847.

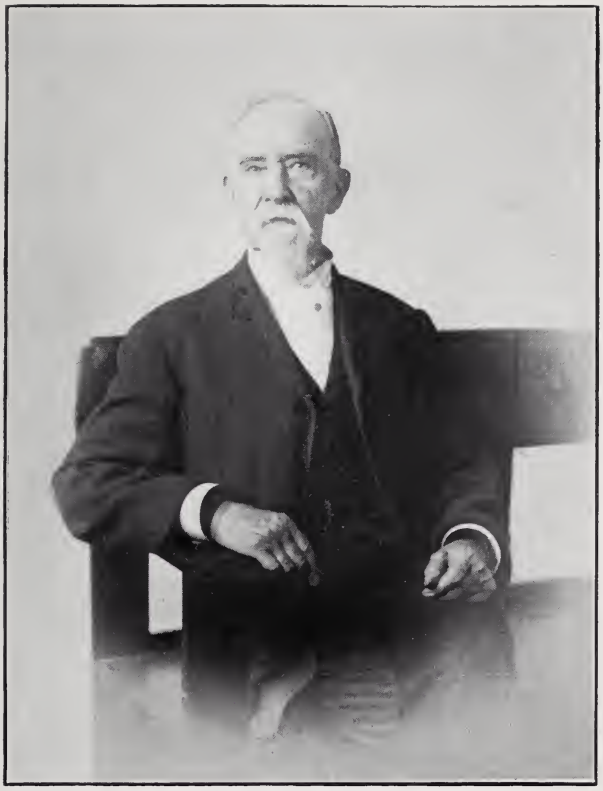
In Memoriam.

Edmund P. Walsh.

A long, and comparatively uneventful life, begun, lived and ended in one city, gives little scope for the fancy of the biographer. But where such a life is characterized by constant devotion to duty and an unfailing succession of kindly actions, it is fitting that the memory of it should not be allowed to perish.

Edmund P. Walsh was born in St. Louis, on Olive street, between Main and Second streets, 26 May, 1832. He was the youngest of a family of ten children. His parents were Patrick and Margaret Walsh, natives of Ireland, who came to St. Louis 20 January, 1821. Mr. Patrick Walsh was elected justice of the peace in 1831 and held the office for twenty years. He died in St. Louis in 1851.

Edmund Walsh was educated in the St. Louis Schools, and in 1856 he was appointed by Judge Charles B. Lord assistant clerk of the St. Louis Land Court. His first chief was Charles A. Mantz. Upon the expiration of Mr. Mantz's term Edward N. Tracy was elected clerk. Mr. Tracy was drowned while on a fishing trip on the Mississippi river and upon his death Mr. Walsh was appointed to fill the vacancy until the general election. In 1862 Lieutenant Colonel Robert White, who had commanded a Missouri Unionist regiment at the battle of Lexington, where he had been badly wounded, was elected clerk, but Mr. Walsh managed the office during his incumbency. It was during this term that a company of militia, called the Court House Guards, and composed largely of the officials of the city and county, was organized. John H. Andrews, then sheriff, was captain, Mr. Walsh was first lieutenant, and Michael K. McGrath, afterwards for many years Secretary of State of Missouri, was



Edmund B. Wade

second lieutenant. The company was sworn into the Federal service, and drilled regularly in the rotunda of the Court House, but was never called into active duty.

Upon the abolition of the Land Court in 1864, Mr. Walsh was transferred to the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, and then in addition to his other duties he served for ten years as Jury Commissioner of St. Louis County. The Clerks under whom Mr. Walsh acted were Frank A. H. Schneider, John Lewis, Fred Thornton, Philip Stock, Charles F. Vogel, Philip H. Zepp, Thomas B. Rodgers, Henry Troll, Ralph Orthwein, William H. Hauschulte, Frederick H. Kreisman and Charles R. Graves, the present incumbent.

For many years he served as court room deputy, but becoming afflicted with pen paralysis, owing to his constant labor on the records, he was transferred to the general office about 1886, and given charge of the preparation and verification of transcripts in appeal cases. Later he was made supervisor of the records, and this position he held at the time of his death. In the earlier years of his service whenever there was a new clerk elected, and particularly when the new incumbent was of a different political party from his predecessor, there was a question of Mr. Walsh's retention in office. But his faithfulness to his duties, and especially his ready kindness to the younger members of the bar when they needed help in threading the intricacies of practice, had made for him a multitude of friends who hastened to his support. In later years he became so established in his position that there was never a thought of his removal.

In March, 1878, Mr. Walsh became a member of the Historical Society, and in June, 1880, he was elected Secretary, which position he held until the end of the year 1887, when he was succeeded by the late Oscar W. Collett.

Mr. Walsh was married 4 July, 1860, to Miss Sarah A. Ivory, who survives him. Their union was never blessed with children.

In 1906, the Judges of the Circuit Court, in General Term, adopted the following resolution, which was ordered spread upon the records of the Court, and an engrossed copy sent to Mr. Walsh:

"The Court deems it proper to place on record an appreciation of the fifty years of service rendered in connection with the Courts of record by Edmund Philip Walsh. On November 1, 1856, he was appointed deputy clerk of the St. Louis Land Court by Judge Charles P. Lord, and when that Court, under the Constitution of 1865, was merged into the Circuit Court, he continued in the service of the Court as Jury Commissioner, Clerk of Division No. 3, and in other capacities down to the present time, an unbroken period of half a century of service characterized at all times by integrity, efficiency and courtesy, making his conduct at once an aid and an ornament to the public service, and an example and inspiration to public officers."

In 1898, Mr. Walsh delivered an address at the Convention of Circuit Clerks and Recorders of Missouri, which address was printed by the Convention. In that address he tells of the Dred Scott case and other cases at the trial of which he was present, and also tells of his acquaintance with General Grant, as follows:

"In the year 1865, between the close of the Civil War and the election of General Grant to the Presidency, he and Mrs. Grant were still interested in the old farm in St. Louis County, where he had built the famous log cabin which was on exhibition at the World's Fair. This farm had been leased to a Captain Joseph White, who, after the expiration of the lease, retained possession and in order to oust him the General and his wife brought an unlawful detainer

proceeding before a Justice of the Peace in the county. At that time the City and County of St. Louis had not been separated, and Captain White, having been defeated in the suit, took an appeal to the St. Louis Land Court, of which I was at the time the Court Clerk. General Grant remained in St. Louis for quite á while in connection with this litigation, and I thus had an opportunity to become acquainted with him. He appeared quiet and unassuming, was a good talker, notwithstanding his reputation for taciturnity, and could talk interestingly; he was a great smoker, and used about the largest sized cigars of any smoker that I remember. I saw him later, after he became President, and he had then grown quite stout. This suit was interesting on account of the great reputation General Grant had recently attained, as a conqueror of General Lee and of the Confederate Army, and when his great work was fresh in the minds of all."

Mr. Walsh died 13 October, 1909, at his home, 3675 Laclede avenue, after an illness of a month's duration. His funeral took place at St. Xavier's (the College) Church, and was attended by a large number of judges, lawyers and city officials, all of whom had been his admirers and his friends, and who were sincere mourners at his death.

In Memoriam.

Leon J. Papin.

Leon J. Papin, one of the original members of the Missouri Historical Society, died in St. Louis on Sunday, 29 October, 1911.

Mr. Papin was born in St. Louis, 11 August, 1829, and lived his whole life in this city. His father was Pierre Didier Papin and his mother was Catherine Cerré. His parents were married in St. Louis, 10 August, 1826. On his father's side Mr. Papin was

descended from Laclede, from Joseph Papin, who was in St. Louis before 1769, and from Joseph Marie Papin and his wife Marie Louise Chouteau. His father, Pierre Didier Papin, was a famous Indian trader, and was for several years in charge of the trading post Fort Laramie. He is frequently mentioned by Parkman and by other writers on early Western life. He died at Scotts Bluff on the Platte river, in the fifties, on one of his trading expeditions. On his mother's side, Mr. Leon Papin was descended from Gabriel Cerré, who was one of the chief citizens of St. Louis in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century. His grandfather was Pascal Cerré, who died in St. Louis in 1849, and Michel Cerré, who was one of Bonneville's captains, was his uncle. Mr. Leon Papin studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1849, but relinquished practice to enter the office of his uncle, Michel Cerré, who was sheriff of St. Louis County, and afterwards Clerk of the Circuit Court. Mr. Papin continued in office after Mr. Cerré's death, and was engaged in various clerical positions in the Court House for many years. For some years before his death Mr. Papin was engaged in transcribing for the Missouri Historical Society, the Church Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, kept at St. Louis and Kaskaskia, which are the foundations of the history of the white settlement of the Mississippi Valley. The volumes of transcripts in Mr. Papin's beautiful handwriting, legible as print, will always remain among the treasures in the Society's archives. Any appeal to Mr. Papin's recollections of early times met with enthusiastic response; and to walk with him along the streets in the old portion of the city, where he lived in his youth, was a pleasure not to be forgotten. Mr. Papin left surviving his widow and several children and grandchildren. A few months before his death Mr. Papin presented to the Historical Society

the portrait of his great-grandfather, Gabriel Cerré, of his grandfather, Pascal Leon Cerré, of his father and mother, and of his uncle, Gabriel Pascal Cerré.

NOTES.

Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri. By the publication of these two handsome volumes Mr. Houck has greatly increased the debt owed to him by the people of Missouri for his invaluable history of the State. These volumes supplement that work, and are made up of translations of documents covering the time of the Spanish domination in Missouri, some of which come from the archives of the Missouri Historical Society, but which for the most part were obtained by Mr. Houck from the depositories in Spain, and translated for his use. They are all public documents, but they are illustrative of almost every phase of the life of the people. There are among them censuses, reports of production, of commerce, of explorations, of discoveries, of intercourse and trade with the Indian tribes, and muster rolls of the militia companies. There is an official account of the *grand coup*—the British and Indian attack on St. Louis in 1780, and of the promotions of Governor de Leyba and Lieutenant Cartabona for their gallant conduct in the defense of the village. Not the least interesting of the documents are those which relate to the capture of Madame Cruzat, wife of Governor Francisco Cruzat, by Mississippi river pirates. Both volumes are replete with interesting details regarding the citizens of Missouri and their activities. The absurdity of many stories which have hitherto passed current as history is here demonstrated. No history of St. Louis can be written without the aid of this book, and the information here given makes an accurate history of St. Louis in the Spanish days now possible.

The Annexation of Texas, by Justin H. Smith. The history of Texas is inextricably bound up with that of Missouri. The great name of Austin belongs to both States. There are few of the old Missouri families that have not furnished representative citizens to the Texan commonwealth, and every town of importance in that State had from the beginning and still has its Missouri colony. When the Missouri legislature in 1844 demanded the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period, as essential to the interests of this State, there was no political or indirect motive behind it, but it was the expression of a desire on the part of Missouri people to help their own.

In view of this relation between the States, Mr. Smith's careful and exhaustive study of the events leading up to the question of annexation, and of the political struggles incident to its accomplishment, possesses great interest for every student of Missouri history. Mr. Smith has done his work well. He has presented the questions involved clearly and with fairness, and he allows the persons involved in the struggle to speak for themselves. Looking back from our time, it is difficult to understand how the men of that day could be so terrified at the political aspects of slavery. Can it be doubted but that, without the frenzy of the abolitionists, without the crippling of the country by the sacrifices of the war between the States, without the horrors of reconstruction, and without the consequent destruction of the government of the Fathers, slavery would have disappeared as a thing which had outlived its time? Even in those days it was dead at the root; yet there were but few who had the insight to perceive it.

The Wislizenus Journal. The Society expects to print in a short time a translation of *Ein Ausflug nach dem Felsengebirgen im Jahre* 1839, written by Dr. F. A.

Wislizenus, and printed in St. Louis in 1840. The translation has been made for the Society by Frederick A. Wislizenus, Esq., a son of the author. The original volume is one of the rarest bits of *Americana;* only two copies being known to exist. Dr. Wislizenus was a trained observer, and a man of much literary skill, and it is believed that the volume will be a valuable addition to the literature of early western travel.

Newspaper Acquisitions. The Society received sometime since from Mr. Granville D. Kennedy, of Brunswick, two volumes of The Glasgow News, June, 1845, to June, 1847, and six volumes of The Brunswicker, October, 1847, to September, 1853. Both of these papers were edited and published by Dr. John H. Blue, Mr. Kennedy's father-in-law, a man well-known in Missouri at that time and for many years later. These papers cover a period when the settlement of Missouri was progressing with great rapidity, and throw much light upon the events and methods of that time. Dr. Blue was one of the ablest newspaper men of his day, and his editorial comments are of great interest and value. Mr. Robert Miller, of Liberty, has presented the files of The Liberty Tribune, 1846 to 1880; also a number of other Clay county newspapers of various dates from the time of the war with Mexico to the war between the States. Mr. Miller during the period of his editorship of the papers was in close touch with all of the leading men in the State, and his paper is full of interest and of valuable material for the historian. A volume of The Marshall Democrat for 1857 was presented by the late John S. Davis, Esq., of St. Louis. This gift was accompanied by an interesting account of the origin of the paper, upon "A plan by distinguished citizens to further the general adoption of what they believed to be right principles

of government." Prior to the establishment of this paper, the Know-Nothing party had carried the elections in Saline County. They had a newspaper "organ," THE SALINE COUNTY HERALD, ably conducted by Col. George W. Allen. To counteract the influence of this paper, THE MARSHALL DEMOCRAT was started. Mr. Davis took the position of editor in December, 1857. Among the leading men associated with the enterprise were Maj. John W. Bryant, Col. Vincent Marmaduke, Dr. Crawford E. Smith, William S. Brown and William B. Sappington. The publication met with great temporary success, but early in 1861, owing to the stagnation of business throughout the State, it fell into difficulties, and in July of that year was discontinued. The press and type were removed to Mr. Davis's residence, and made use of to print occasional notices, until finally they were "borrowed" by the Federal authorities.

THE SOCIETY'S TEMPORARY OFFICE. The destructive fires in the Missouri and New York capitals caused the Board of the Missouri Historical Society much anxiety for the safety of the invaluable collections of the Society. It was feared that, pending the completion of the new building, the material which it is being built to preserve and display might become food for the flames; it was therefore resolved to pack and store the greater part of the property of the Society until it could be installed in the new home. Fireproof storage rooms were kindly offered by the St. Louis University and the Washington University, which offers were gratefully accepted. A large quantity of manuscripts have been placed in the safe deposit vaults of the Mississippi Valley Trust Company and of the State Bank. The old building will be vacated about the beginning of January, 1912, and a temporary office established at Room 605 Mermod-Jaccard Building.